NEW MASSES

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OUR ALLIES WITHIN ITALY

By the Editors

IT IS later—much, much later—than any of us could have imagined only a few days ago. Our timepieces had been adjusted to an orderly progression of affairs moving at war tempo, of course, but orderly and according to plan nevertheless. Now our time schedules are thrown askew: politics and freedom move in breathless strides. The niagra of news from Europe, especially from Italy and the southeast—the rumors, the obvious kernels of truth—demand the hardest analysis. Not a split-second response ending hasty judgments, but an estimate of the broad trends of affairs in which old notions give way to fresh realities.

And the greatest reality of the hour is that the peoples of Europe are moving with dispatch and determination. That is the newest and brightest dimension in the war of liberation. Often invisible, it has always been there but none of us dreamed that it had reached the peak of ferment and organization of which Italy is the best proof. In the largest sense, heretofore, liberation has meant military power, invasion of enemy countries, freedom by force of arms. And it still does, with a new element added which changes the picture in its entirety. This time we are not only coming to help the peoples of Europe but the war has reached the stage where they are helping and beginning to help themselves. The five parties that comprise the Italian national front are linked to us as a powerful force operating within the peninsula. Their program is our program. It is we who want Italy out of the war and it is they who fight for this objective within Italy; it is we who demand the expulsion of the Nazi troops and it is they who move heaven and earth to end the Wehrmacht's reign; it is we who have promised the restoration of Italian liberties and it is they who are achieving them despite Badoglio's suppression; it is Allied Headquarters in North Africa which announces no tolerance of any delay that would help Hitler, announces that we will hold Badoglio responsible if he does not make peace quickly, and it is the Italian national front that is telling Italians of Badoglio's traitorous dallying.

This is the new dimension—a coalition of the most advanced anti-fascist forces within enemy and occupied territory that is cementing itself to the will and objectives of the United Nations. In connection with Italy it is as though the United Nations have added to their formidable power dozens of new divisions operating in territory we have yet to reach. That is the prime fact. And those who do not understand its significance will not be able to swim in the tides that now move throughout the continent. They will be left holding their narrow, sectarian opinions while history rushes by. It was a group of formalistic thinkers who last week could not see that Mussolini's resignation was an explosion that would detonate other explosions. They said nothing had been changed because Badoglio and the King were still in power; they paced up and down their newspaper columns groaning their heavy groans and sighing their learned sighs. Their orientation was that of a mechanical repetition of warnings that applied to another situation, of a mechanical repetition of what they considered to be historical analogies when in fact they were not analogies at all.

THE Italian national front is not a committee in exile. It is in Italy, working in Italy. It is the dynamo generating the energies of renaissance, of new life. It has the support, particularly in the northern industrial cities, of the masses of Italians. It does not exist on anyone's sufferance. It cannot be trifled with; its strength is rooted in the will of Italians. The alarums about Darlanism as applied to Italy are pointless. They are pointless because if Badoglio cannot fulfill Italian demands for peace and freedom then Italians will force another resignation. They did it when they expelled Mussolini from state power. And this time it will be an immeasurably easier task. Within the week after Mussolini's end new forces have percolated and come to the fore which no power on earth can repress. In Milan, for example, the demonstrations for peace had the support of Italian soldiers. Each passing day lifts new liberation elements to the surface.

Their activities spell neither anarchy nor chaos. Many newspapers in their abysmal obtuseness have been referring to the expressions of Italian will as the deeds of "mobs," "rioters," "extremists," "leftists," "Communists"—all the studied jargon associated with the thinking of a Father Coughlin or a Gerald L. K. Smith. What have these so-called "rioters" been asking for? In the streets of Milan they shouted "Mussolini is liquidated: why not the war?" In these few words are crystallized exactly the position of our own government. Yet the stupid and the malicious try to foment ill feeling toward them with scare words, with all the threadbare tricks of political semantics. If there is violence in Italy it is part of the violence the United Nations are practicing against the Axis. If there is sabotage in Italy it is part of the same sabotage committed by Allied commandos in their quick raids against Nazi military installations. If there are Italian Communists, as there are, they are part of the national front of liberation and as indigenous to Italy as the heroic French Communists to France. They are our allies and to picture them as scoundrels, eager to establish Italian Soviets, as the Hearst press claims, is to continue the Nazi tactic of "bolshevist menace" on which Hitler and Mussolini thrived.

The Italian people will exact the full measure of retribution. This is integral to the process of liberation and parallels the policy of punishment formulated by the Allied governments and repeated last week by President Roosevelt. The Italian national front put it as follows in a broadcast over the *Milano-Liberta* radio: "The people are not threatening order. Once the fascist onslaught is crushed order will be assured. Any other form of action will be toleration of fascist violence, and we would again witness a state apparatus being used to suppress the will of the country." Even a conservative columnist, Walter Lippmann, told his readers (New York *Herald Tribune*, July 27) that "What the King [Victor Emmanuel] calls 'recrimination' is inevitable and necessary. For recrimination is just another name for the rooting out and the punishment and the liquidation of the fascist hierachy and their gangs. . . . The destruction of fascism will not be a pretty sight. It can, we may hope, be regulated. But it must not be prevented, and the more swiftly and surely fascism is destroyed, the shorter will be the agony of Europe."

If anyone is waiting for the polling booths to be set up and the ballots distributed without delay, then he is exceedingly naive. Italy will return to these democratic techniques once it is rid of those forces that still threaten the use of the ballot and the polling booth. Right now Italians are voting through demonstrations, through the manifestos of the national front, through the distribution of mimeographed copies of General Eisenhower's declaration calling for surrender. Fulfillment of democracy is not expressed in the ballot alone. Let us not forget our own Revolutionary and Civil Wars.

Europe is in ferment. Events in Italy

(*Continued on page 6*)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

White House Communique

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S broadcast on the war and the home front radiated confidence, calm, and cogency. His assurance that Mussolini "and his fascist gang will be brought to book" and that "We will have no truck with fascism in any way, in any shape or manner" expressed the deep desires and hopes of a majority of Americans. Once more the President proclaimed unity with our principal allies, Britain, Russia, and China, as the keystone of American policy. Especially significant was his tribute to the Soviet Union and to the leadership of Joseph Stalin. Coming at a time when efforts are being made to sow new suspicions about our Soviet ally because of the formation in Moscow of the Free Germany Committee, his statement that this country "should always be glad to be a good neighbor [of Russia] and a sincere friend in the world of the future" is a blow in behalf of America's best interests.

The President skillfully brought home to the millions of his listeners the indivisible connection between the military front and the home front. Much to the point was his reminder to those who "grouse and complain" that the sacrifices by Americans at home are insignificant compared to those of "the civilian populations of our Allies—Britain and China and Russia—and of all the lands occupied by our common enemies."

It seems to us, however, that while FDR was entirely right in criticizing biased efforts to exaggerate and falsify the difficulties at home, he did not give sufficient consideration to the need to correct certain shortcomings that adversely affect our war effort. One cannot but admire the "careful planning that gained victory in North Africa and Sicily." But far less admirable is the ersatz planning that holds back production and helps dislocate our war economy. Recent reports of War Production Board and Army officials show a deplorable failure to meet production goals. Similarly, there would be a greater disposition on the part of the public to accept the restrictions and sacrifices necessitated by the war—among which the ban on pleasure driving is the least—were there a bold, coherent policy in the OPA and a stiff refusal to knuckle under to the reactionaries who want to wreck the fight against inflation.

THE PRESIDENT'S discussion of the problems of the postwar world was necessarily and wisely limited. He pointed out that while the United Nations are agreed on general postwar objectives, they are also agreed that "this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future." The President therefore dealt with only one question: the return to civilian life of the men and women in the

The train that didn't run on time.

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armed forces. The demobilization and reintegration into the normal processes of peacetime life of the soldiers and sailors will be the most difficult social problem that our country will face when the war is over. No one who recalls the scandalous neglect of the soldiers' welfare after the last war, so tragically dramatized in the bonus march of 1932, no one who is at all sensitive to the harrowing anxieties that beset so many of the gallant men and women who today risk their lives for their country, can help but agree that the President's discussion of this problem and his specific proposals are designed to meet not only a future social and economic need, but to strengthen the morale of our fighting forces. The attack made on this section of the speech by Harrison Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, and by certain of his defeatist Congressional brethren of both parties shows the desperate depths to which these bankrupt politicos have sunk in their effort to politically assassinate the Commander-in-Chief. Spangler and his cohorts cry that the President is bidding for soldiers' votes in the 1944 election. One might just as logically say that everything the President does to win the war is a bid for votes, since the people—unlike some of Spangler's friends—actually want victory.

The President's address encourages no idle speculations about the future, no postwar doodling. Its main weight is placed on the immediate job of crushing the enemy as rapidly as possible. Victory is not in the bag, he warned. "The length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on the fighting fronts and here at home." And let us add, this in turn will depend on how well the people marshal their forces against the obstructionists, on how effectively the CIO program is carried through for organizing down among the plain folk in the communities a powerful movement to compel a change in the temper of Congress and to assure the triumph of the President's policies in 1944.

Ezra Pound's Final Canto

IT IS welcome news to learn that Ezra Pound and seven other emigre Americans serving the Axis have been indicted for treason. These traitors who pour Hitler's words into the short-wave radio should be hunted down remorselessly until they can be brought to justice along with all the other leaders and henchmen of the "new order."

Unfortunately Pound and his fellow criminals are far enough away to escape immediate retribution. But in Detroit, USA, leaders of the Ku Klux Klan spread the same poison. They have managed to delay the war effort more effectively than Pound and his seven companion traitors. But the American fascists are not indicted; they are allowed to continue their sabotage unmolested. Gerald L. K. Smith is still at large; so is Coughlin; so are the thirty-three seditionists indicted but not brought to trial. Daily the McCormick-Patterson newspaper axis spreads its filth, and Hearst does his stint for disunity and disruption. John L. Lewis organizes an insurrection against the nation and the Commander-in-Chief, but he still dallies at lunch in the luxurious dining room of the Carlton Hotel, Washington, and he still is exhibited in the elite salons of a special social set. Dies, Wheeler, Nye, Fish, so many, many, many others enjoy the unrestrained license to spew their contempt of our country at war.

Why does Attorney-General Biddle tolerate those who unlike Pound can be apprehended now? Why does the Department of Justice move only against a few out of reach, while ignoring the far more dangerous fifth columnists and seditionists and defeatists at home? To indict Pound and his fellow-traitors is splendid. But it seems only logical to act against those right here in our own country who do Pound's work with far greater effectiveness.

New Jersey Again

IT ISN'T often that a policy which has been widely attacked as cynical, preposterous, and unprincipled is vindicated within the space of three weeks. In the case of the Soviet-German pact it took almost two years. We wonder what those who jeered at the Communist Party for its common-sense position on the New Jersey political situation and who concocted out of it a Communist "alliance" with Mayor Frank Hague are thinking now. We wonder whether they'll season the crow they ought to be eating with a little humility to aid digestion.

For as everybody knows, what the Communists, together with the majority of the labor movement, urged has come to pass: the factional rift in the New Jersey Democratic Party between the adherents of Governor Edison and of Mayor Hague has been healed at least to the extent that both have endorsed a common candidate for governor. He is Mayor Vincent J. Murphy of Newark, who also happens to be secretary-treasurer of the state Federation of Labor and is the gubernatorial choice of the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods.

It was the insistence of the labor movement that compelled Hague to abandon his own candidate, former Governor Harry Moore, and switch to Murphy. It was labor's united support of Murphy that also won the endorsement of Governor Edison. Labor thus played the decisive unifying role in a difficult situation. The chances of defeating the reactionary Republicans, whose candidate will probably be former Sen. Walter Edge, a chip off the Hoover block, have been enormously enhanced. What this would mean nationally for 1944 is obvious.

Bullitt Looks Homeward

FOR years now, William C. Bullitt, scion of Philadelphia's Main Line, has cherished his birth and position as something to fall back on as a last resort. Throughout the thirties Bullitt flirted with the idea of returning to the city of his forebears, there to devote his talents to local and state politics. The call never sounded clearly enough. The people of Pennsylvania showed admirable restraint; they went their way without Bill Bullitt. This year he pocketed his pride and decided to come to the people if they won't come to him. He has graciously entered his name as Democratic candidate for mayor of Philadelphia.

Several considerations move Bullitt to seek elective office. Aside from his burning zeal to bestow on the people of Philadelphia his particular brand of "liberalism" (take on an overwhelming hatred of the Soviet Union, add a deep and searing contempt for the people, and immerse these ingredients in a passion for appeasement, and you approximate Bullitt's credo), Bullitt is lonely. He is clearly wasted in Washington, because the administration doesn't appreciate him. In fact, appeasement is not smiled upon by the President, and Bullitt feels the urge to patch his political fences and to find friends. A good many machine politicians and defeatists who hate "That Man" believe there is something in it for them if they give the aristocratic and "misunderstood" Bullitt a hand.

Philadelphia has long been dominated by a political gang, which has won favor in the eyes of the Pew oil interests, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. But rule by machine politicians has proved inefficient and costly to the city. Philadelphia bankers are restive; they talk of "reform," of cleaning house. They hope to rally the voters to the banner of "good government," and to sweep the rascals out of the City Hall, replacing them with honest, efficient public servants. Bullitt, they conclude, is just the man to do the job. Perhaps he can still be passed off as a liberal.

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THE man who praised the kaiser in 1918, the man who villified the French Popular Front, the man who welcomed Munich, the man who lied about the Red Army, the man who brands the USSR as our enemy, the man who Red-baits and appeases—this man Bullitt intimates that President Roosevelt supports his campaign for mayor. This is untrue. Bullitt's election would be a direct slap at the President. Between him and Mayor Bernard Samuels, a run-of-the-mill Republican politician who seeks reelection, there is little to choose. Of the two, however, Bullitt represents the greater danger, for the mayoralty would be merely a stepping-stone toward his political rehabilitation nationally. His election would also help strengthen the reactionary, anti-Roosevelt wing of the Democratic Party.

It is heartening to learn that sincere pro-war, pro-labor, and reform groups in Philadelphia are getting behind an independent candidate, Jules C. Abercauph, an official of Local 5, Jewelry Workers Union, AFL, who backs President Roosevelt 100 percent. Philadelphia can make a positive contribution toward safeguarding the integrity of the nation by defeating William C. Bullitt at the polls.

"Red Network" Phobias

THERE is a hidden, vicious war being waged in Washington and its victims are hard-working government employes or candidates for federal jobs. The war is conducted by an army of investigators chiefly under the orders of the Civil Service Commission and the FBI; their operations reveal an obtuseness of mind which confuses Washington with Berlin and Thomas Jefferson with Martin Dies. They are bent on blocking any liberal or progressive from capital offices and their inquisition has reached such scandalous proportions as to interfere with efficiency and health.

Here is a sampling of what these sleuths asked a minor agency executive about a friend of his also in government employ: Could I tell him why Bill Smith had grown a beard? Did he seem to play only Russian music on his phonograph? Does he make a habit of frequenting Russian or foreign eating places? Did I know that Smith was reported to have said that all government employes ought to belong to unions? What all this fantastic examination led to was an FBI report on Bill Smith that he was suspect of "subversive connections or being linked to Communist organizations." Bill

It Happened in Harlem

GET this straight: Harlem was not Detroit. I walked through the streets alone during the fag-end of the disturbances and saw this: Negro air raid wardens chatting with white wardens on the corners. White soldiers talking with Negroes sitting on the front steps this sultry August night. A black man on 137th street asked me for a light: we exchanged a few words. I sensed no animosity against me, an individual white man.

This I did sense, and I got it in plain English from others I talked to. The Negro says hands off his boy in uniform. That's what touched off the outbreaks. A Negro soldier was shot. Nobody stopped to ask the merits or demerits of the case. A Negro soldier was shot. That news swept through the teeming streets, into the hot, jammed flats, where colored mothers and fathers nursed heartbreak at the treatment their sons were getting in the army. The soldier who was shot was their son. He symbolized all the tragedy of indignity, suffering, and Kluxist murder that had come to their boys in the service of their country. So the streets filled.

This I saw too: the people of Harlem did not smash the store windows, loot the shops. Remember this is the world's greatest Negro city. Three hundred thousand live here. A thousand or so among them did the window-smashing and the looting. Less than one percent. Nobody justified them. One Negro told me: "They had no right. They helped nobody. They hurt our people's cause." This is the feeling of Harlem's overwhelming majority. It is a majority, however, which smarts under the daily injustice of their lot: rents higher than elsewhere in the city for small, dark, rat-infested rooms; skyrocketing prices; Jim Crow dogging them every waking and sleeping hour. They took it, unwillingly enough to be sure, during peacetime. But today we are in the greatest war for liberation in history. We are smashing them on every battlefront: but Jim Crow hasn't been smashed. That hurts.

SO HARLEM smoldered, and then: "One of our boys was shot." Shot in the back, the story flew. And so it started.

Once begun, the question of putting out the fire confronted the people. They helped in every way they could. So did the police. I watched them in action. They were not Detroit's police. I watched Mayor LaGuardia's way of meeting the emergency. It was not Mayor Jeffries'. I happened to be at the 126th Street police station when the mayor was there. He was on the spot: he hadn't slept for forty-eight hours; he had gathered about him the representative citizens of the city—Negro and white. Trade unionists, church leaders, civic spokesmen. Together they sought the solution.

Then I saw something which brought strength to everybody heartsick from the outbursts. I saw Negroes volunteering in the Negro Civilian Committee of 1,500 to accompany police on duty. That committee was something brand new; something that snatched victory out of the desolation. I listened to the city's loudspeaker trucks touring the neighborhoods: Negro and white leaders spoke and spoke well. The shambles was turning into its opposite: white and Negro were drawing together.

AS I write things have quieted down. Everybody is on the qui vive for fifth columnists. I doubt if any Christian Fronters, any Hitler-lovers will get further satisfaction at this time. Everybody is on guard—the Negro and white people are cooperating loyally—to restore order.

Elsewhere in this issue I discuss some of the means Negro and white spokesmen urge to eliminate the basis for such outbreaks. It is past the discussion stage: words must turn into deeds. And the first deed must be this: Negro boys in uniform deserve, and must immediately get, every right the white boy in uniform has. Do that and you do a lot. Let's start with that.

JOSEPH NORTH.

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Smith was fortunately not ousted but there are hundreds of others who did not fare as well after they or their friends were subjected to the same scrutiny.

The *Nation* has brought the practice of these Gestapo methods to the surface in two recently published articles by a government worker. And we tip our hats to the *Nation's* editors for this useful contribution. It is indeed serious when the character and talents of a federal clerk are judged by standards set by a Father Coughlin or an Elizabeth Dilling. But equally sad, as the *Nation* writer reports, is the fact that this witchhunt has so strangled Department of Justice work that its officials have admitted they were months behind in checking fraud cases arising out of war contracts, including falsification of records on munitions for both our army and our allies. "Subversive" apparently also applies to belief in racial equality or, for that matter, any belief not sanctioned by the Texas termite and his friends in and out of Congress. It is obviously more than high time that these inquisitors be disbanded and given honest labor in war plants.

Chile Moves Ahead

SWITZERLAND is a mite of a country compared to the vastness of Chile. But both peoples seem to have been observing each other with care. Last week we reported the decision of the Swiss Socialists' Central Committee to establish organic unity with the Communists and other workers' parties. Now close on the news from Geneva comes a significant announcement from Santiago that an agreement in principle has been reached among the Socialist, Communist and Socialist Workers Parties to launch a single political entity of Chilean labor. Before the proposal is finally ratified this month at the Socialist congress and the meeting of the Confederation of Labor, it is being widely discussed by unification committees and already there have been joint statements on a number of critical issues facing the nation. In Parliament Communist and Socialist deputies are working together and the Communist newspaper, *El Siglo*, has accepted Socialist representation. The three parties, for all the opposition fomented by the Trotskyites and suspicious elements in the Radical party, have reaffirmed their support of Chile's Democratic Alliance as well as the extension of utmost aid to the United Nations war enterprises.

These currents are in the major stream of Latin American political developments. They are far from flood stage but since the dissolution of the Comintern they have been steadily moving in that direction. President Rios of Chile is expected to strengthen his cabinet to conform with the anticipated political union of the working-class parties. In Cuba, the Communist Dr. Juan Marinello is minister without portfolio. And in Costa Rica the organization of a broad, new workers' party with Catholic support is another glowing sign of the times. We have much to emulate and learn from our Good Neighbors.

Allies In Italy

(*Continued from p. 2*)

have cascaded into the Balkans have and breached the walls of Germany. The Nazis are frightened. They have ordered the evacuation of Berlin ostensibly to protect Germans from Allied air bombardment. But there is more behind this move. They are dispersing Berliners because it is the large cities where the anti-Nazi upheavals will take place. The manifesto of the Free Germans in the Soviet Union has also blitzed through the German mind as has the train of defeats on the Eastern Front. We would be making the silliest blunder to underestimate the impact of the Italian crisis. And we would be blind as new born kittens if we did not take into account the strength of German anti-fascist internal organization and the mood of Germans who joined with Italian workers in Berlin's Siemens-Schukert factory to celebrate Mussolini's political demise.

The end is in sight. And the current of events is such that all preconceived notions, all plans formulated in an earlier stage of the war, are being ripped with every forward move of the minute hand. The President's speech last week called for greater exertion to finish this final chapter whose opening paragraphs were written in Italy. As Europe seethes and moves on a scale few anticipated, victory is as close now as Allied arms will make it. Relentless blows from the West struck along with those in the East can bring the first peaceful Christmas in Europe in almost five years.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

FUEHRER COX'S REVENGE

Washington.

ASIDE from everything else, there is a danger that the Cox committee, appointed by the House to do a job on the Federal Communications Commission, will be written off as a farce in extremely bad taste. Because the investigation is so preposterous, the temptation persists to shrug off the hearings as beneath contempt. Perhaps it is worth recalling those days in the dim past when Martin Dies clowned through the first year of his "investigation," to the accompaniment of merriment over his exhibitionism and a refusal to take his buffoonery seriously. Only late in the game did labor and the people catch up with their initial error. What Eugene E. Cox of Georgia is up to now is no less ominous. To dismiss it as just another obscene sideshow is to repeat the costly mistake that allowed Dies to hang on to his profitable racket for over five years.

So far as Cox is concerned, his immediate reason for smearing the FCC is strictly personal. The FCC has in its possession —and has made available to the Department of Justice and to the Speaker of the House—evidence that the gentlemen from Georgia attempted to obtain a license for radio station WALB in his district. Coincidentally, he received a check for $2,500 from the owners of the station, and the check was accompanied by a voucher explaining the payment as a "legal expense." If it is true that Cox received "compensation for any services rendered" for legal aid before a federal agency while serving in Congress, he has violated Section 113 of the US Criminal Code, and is liable to a $10,000 fine and two years in jail. To clear himself of this charge, it would seem logical for Cox to welcome legal proceedings in the courts. Instead, he wangled authority from the House to hound the FCC in the hope of driving out of existence the agency that dared offend him by questioning his ethics.

What is of greater significance than Cox' hope of cheating the public out of a showdown on his alleged deal is the interest shown by defeatists everywhere in the committee's proceedings. The FCC is an agency set up by the administration—and 1944 is just around the corner. It is a

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safe bet that barring intense public protest, the Cox committee will be going stronger than ever a year from now. One thing the committee learned from Martin Dies—never allow an investigation to dabble in the truth. Never follow judicial processes. Never permit the "defendants" to state their case. Facts must remain extraneous; the need is to reiterate tirelessly those ideas the committee wants to put across, until the public accepts the ideas regardless of their validity. Wasn't it Hitler who said that a lie repeated often enough will in the end replace the truth?

The onslaught against the FCC has two aims. First, it is designed to libel the administration. Cox has always advocated "unity" against the President and his policies. He has repeatedly taken the House floor to plead with Clare Hoffman and Ham Fish for a coalition of Democrats and Republicans pledged to destroy the administration. He has done his best to undermine the war effort. "I love Jim Farley," he told Virginia Gardner of Federated Press. "I have always been a Jim Farley man." Small wonder that Martin Dies, Ham Fish, Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator of the Dies committee, Howard Smith and others made it a habit while Congress was in session to drop around to the Cox hearings to lend encouragement. Small wonder that Sen. Robert Taft, speaking for the Hoover-Landon Republicans, backed the Cox investigation and charged that the FCC represents "the most serious infringement on the rights of freedom of speech which has occurred since the Bill of Rights was adopted."

More pressing than the role the committee plays in the "hate Roosevelt" coalition of poll-taxers and Hoover Republicans is the goal the committee has set for itself—to use the investigation to sweep away any protection the public may have against the predatory practices of the largest monopolies. The offensive against the FCC is merely another expression of the desire to keep the communications industry free of the "outside influences" of government. Senator Taft admitted that he and his friends object to *any* exercise of federal control over communications. His hatred is not limited to FCC alone; it motivated the ferocious assault on the OWI domestic news bureau. It lurked behind the opposition to grade-labeling, since the press felt that such labeling would have a discouraging effect on advertising; and that, as anyone can see, is an immediate threat to the "free" press. Newspapers have managed to stay pretty clear of regulation; they have managed to violate and make inoperative the controls designed to reduce the amount of newsprint used by them in the discharge of their public duty to present the maximum amount of advertising to the public. If FCC is scuttled, the publishers gain, because control exercised anywhere is a danger to all monopoly.

In the telegraph industry the Board of War Communications attempted to set standards for better service. The wire companies resisted. They managed to suppress the FCC report on the investigation of the telegraph industry on the grounds that the findings were "confidential military information." Actually the findings were so uncomplimentary to the industry, which has shown a majestic lack of concern over the war effort, that the thought of publication threw the wire companies into a panic. Joseph P. Selly, president of the American Communications Association, CIO, said with reference to the FCC hearings: "The telegraph carriers have embarked on a policy of reduced service for the sake of additional profits, at a time when all communications carriers are overburdened, when expansion rather than curtailment is needed to speed war production and service messages." For their part, the wire companies are not averse to Cox' committee going after FCC's scalp.

Likewise, the passion for complete, unhampered control of every phase of the communications setup has led to an all-out attack by the McCormick-Patterson axis, the Hearst press, and to a lesser degree, the Scripps-Howard chain, against the movie industry. Motion picture producers even went so far as to present the war in its true light to millions of Americans, and to make such pictures as *Mission to Moscow*, *Action on the North Atlantic*, *This Land is Mine*, and *Bataan*. Communications in every form must be kept in hand—for the benefit of the few. The blackmail of the studios has registered some success. The FCC investigation perhaps will scare them still more. The OWI has been forbidden to make propaganda pictures. If the people are led to believe that the war is their concern, then the win-the-war administration will be strengthened. The defeatists know what that would mean in 1944.

Destruction of FCC remains, however, the focal point for the moment. Actually, the power exercised by the FCC with the sanction of the Supreme Court is trivial. But the *principle* of supervision is involved. So when Cox came along with his personal grudge, he was anointed the knight to joust for reaction, and he was offered all support by his friends in Congress, by an important section of the press, and by the poll-tax Democrats and Hoover Republicans.

This support is crucial. Three of the first four cases "examined" by the Kerr committee involved FCC employes—Watson, Dodd, and Schumann. The stage was set for Red-baiting. The Costello subcommittee of the House Military Affairs Committee singled out the FCC in questioning personnel deferments from the draft—though other agencies had a far larger record of deferments. The stage was set for the Cox committee's counsel, Eugene Garey, to claim that FCC was obstructing the war. FCC broadcasts to the conquered nations and to Germany and Italy provided the excuse to charge that the administration was using the agency to further its political program and to win the 1944 election. Nothing the FCC has done goes uninterrupted; its very action becomes a deep-dyed plot on the part of the President and his "long-haired professors" to replace democracy with "dictatorship," and to displease such true patriots as Col. Bertie McCormick, Gerald L. K. Smith, and Herbert Hoover.

The Cox committee's counsel, Eugene Garey, is worth a glance. A Wall Street lawyer long devoted to the fight to scuttle the SEC, Mr. Garey has accepted the crusade against FCC as an excellent opportunity to destroy another administrative agency daring to interfere with the absolute "freedom" of the special interests. His concern is for his sort of "democracy"—which can be defined as that state of affairs in which all power is returned without restriction of any sort to the monopolies. Garey's law partner is Raoul Desvernine, formerly counsel for the Liberty League. Cox described Garey as "a damned good friend of Jim Farley's." He is also a close friend of Wall Street-bred Harold L. Allen, chief counsel for the Smith committee. As Garey remarked to Allen recently, "This business of investigating government agencies can be a lifetime job." That is, until the administration is smashed and every regulation in the public interest is cancelled.

Cox has hired Robert Humphreys of International News Service to prepare publicity suggestions. Humphreys has managed to get a good deal of notice for the investigation. Organized labor opposes Cox—but so far has been content merely to register disapproval and to let things go at that. But like Dies, Cox cannot safely be ignored. His committee is an insult to Congress, a travesty on democratic procedure, a menace to the war effort, a slap at everything progressive. It is high time to stop Cox' high jinks. It would be more in the public interest to hail the Georgia poll-taxer into court to answer inquiries about the $2,500 check. It would be more in the public interest to let FCC get on with its war work. It would be more in the public interest to ship Mr. Garey back to his lucrative law practice, because, as Vice-President Wallace pointed out, Washington must not again be transformed into "a way station in the suburbs of Wall Street."

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AROUND THE WORLD

VICTORY IN EUROPE BY XMAS

THE recent events in Rome reflect not only the failure of fascist Italian arms, but, even more, a most serious decline in Germany's fighting strength. Mussolini fell because the Nazis no longer had enough troops, *thanks to the Red Army*, to defend Italy and keep him in power. And now the Nazis are being compelled to retire from the Festung Europa's central Mediterranean salient. Reports seem to indicate that they may be moving to a shorter line in the region of the Alps. If that is so it will not restore even a small part of Nazi strength. On the contrary, it reduces it still further. All this, however, is said with a strong note of caution. Germany is not yet crushed and we cannot relax our efforts for an instant on either production or battle line. But now it is September 1918, *now is the time for a western front.* A big push from the west, coordinated with blows from the south and east, can bring the Nazis to their knees this year.

At present most reports agree that the German forces occupying Europe are receiving the assistance of about thirty divisions of Italians: three in southern France, two in Corsica, two or three in the Dodecanese islands, one and a half in Crete, three or four in Greece and fifteen to seventeen in Yugoslavia. Hitler, it would seem, is trying to make use of them and the several hundred thousand Italian workers in the Reich as hostages to guarantee Italian resistance to the Allies long enough to cover the withdrawal of German units in southern Italy. But whether or not he lets the Italian troops go, he must find replacements for them inasmuch as they are no longer reliable forces, if ever they were. This is impossible, however, without denuding Germany of its very last reserves or weakening the Nazi forces on the different fronts and potential fronts of Europe, or both.

The Wehrmacht's general reserve—troops uncommitted to any garrison or combat area and usually stationed in the Reich itself—is difficult to estimate, but it would not exceed twenty or twenty-five divisions. Now it might be said that twenty or twenty-five German divisions should be able to replace the Italian divisions. But the situation the Nazis must now face even before Italy drops out of the war is many times more difficult—certainly more difficult than anything the Italian garrisons have heretofore experienced.

During the last several months the United States and Britain have massed hundreds of thousands of men in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in preparation for a Balkan offensive. This force may move any day. Very recently the British placed the Yugoslav Partisans on the same footing as Mikhailovich. Whatever we think about Mikhailovich, the very valuable fact is that the British are prepared to cooperate with the Yugoslav Partisan Army in the Balkan drive. British planes and commandos have also been active over and on Crete, carrying out reconnaissance in force.

UP UNTIL a few days ago the Nazis might have expected this British drive which will probably come northward through Greece to Salonika and up the main north-south river corridor of Southern Yugoslavia, the Varder, to be the only thrust into southeastern Europe. Now, however, they must also guard against the likelihood of an additional Anglo-American force crossing the Adriatic from southern Italy and taking them in the flank. The terrain along the Yugoslav-Albanian coast is not favorable to such an invasion, but some parts of the coast are already in the hands of guerrillas, and the Albanian coastal plain is wide enough to provide an excellent bridgehead for a considerable Allied army. Moreover, the probability of Turkish intervention on the side of the Allies becomes greater every day.

To add to German difficulties, guerrilla activities in the Balkans and elsewhere have been undoubtedly further spurred by what is happening in Rome and Sicily and at Orel. Finally, unrest and uncertainty are mounting in Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. In anticipation of losing the Balkans as well as Italy, the Nazis are already talking about defending not Festung Europa, the entire continent of Europe, but only the Reich, Poland, and parts of Russia—what the Nazis now call the "inner redoubt." The Reich, however, cannot long endure without the Balkans. Entirely aside from the crushing blow to morale such a loss will represent, Germany has depended on a constant stream of raw materials and food from southeastern Europe: copper from Lake Bor in Yugoslavia (the only considerable copper mines in Europe), oil from Rumania (the only large oil fields on the continent), bauxite (aluminum ore) from Italy and Yugoslavia, wheat, cereals, soybeans, livestock, fruit, and other agricultural commodities from every one of the conquered nations or satellites. While the Reich will not run out of these supplies in a matter of weeks, only a relatively short time will be required for intensified shortages to make themselves felt.

When the Allies occupy Italy itself that will bring Allied bombers within effective reach of scores of industrial centers in Austria, southern Germany, Czechoslovakia, and southwestern Poland. In addition to exposing a so far largely untouched area of German economy to Allied bombs, this will further strain the Luftwaffe, which is already unable to cope with Anglo-American-Soviet aviation.

THE active German army, many estimates would indicate, consists of about 250 to 275 divisions, of which about 160 (not counting satellite divisions) are on the Soviet front, forty to fifty in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, fifteen in the Balkans (at the time of writing), fifteen in Scandinavia, ten in Italy, and about twenty to twenty-five in the Reich. On paper this would seem to be quite a formidable force. But it is very likely that very few of these divisions approach their fullest strength. Also many of them consist of units of older or extremely young (seventeen years or so) soldiers hurriedly organized to replace divisions wiped out in the slaughters on the Eastern Front. Their quality is definitely far below that of the German soldiers in the first two or three years of the war.

This deterioration, brought about primarily by Russian courage and Russian fire, has progressed to the point where the Nazis' 1943 summer offensive on the Soviet front proved to be an eight-day dud. In other words, if we land now on the north or west coast of France, coordinating our blows with the Russian offensive, the Germans will be in a dire position. They will be able to counter a western blow only by withdrawing troops from the east—something which they can ill afford without finally jeopardizing their positions elsewhere and at the cost of the coalition's rapid advance to Berlin. *The war in Europe can be won before Christmas, if only we act boldly and decisively now.*

JOSEPH REED.

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ALLIED POLICY AND ROME

Surrender by the present regime, Joseph Starobin says, "is only the first step." It will itself compel us to continue into the continent. Conditions for prosecuting the war against Germany itself.

IN THESE past two weeks, humanity has taken one of those great and sudden steps forward for which years and sometimes decades prepare. A great lie—the lie of Italian fascism—is coming to an end. The sun is again shining on the streets of Italy, whose people have within two weeks advanced to the front ranks of the European liberation battle. It was often said that lies travel round the world more quickly than truth; but the impact of the end of the fascist lie has girdled the globe with the speed of light. What our whole generation has been fighting for is coming to pass: the end of fascism, whose extirpation, Earl Browder remarked in June, was the most revolutionary task of our time.

So I have no patience with those precocious men of good-will but poor judgment who think nothing has changed. Everything has changed and is changing. Everything. The entire war's process has been speeded up to the point where decisive military-political issues are on the order of the day. History's locomotives are racing forward. We have nothing to lose but our old timetables.

IN SUCH a moment, Americans will naturally turn to the problems of their own country's foreign policy. I think they can be summarized under three main headings: first, whether we are in fact going to make war relentlessly, ruthlessly, to a speedy finish. Second, whether we are basing ourselves on the popular forces in Italy and other occupied countries, or whether any effort is being made for a sleight-of-hand diplomacy which eliminates Italy as an enemy but does not destroy the social basis of Italian fascism. And third, following from the second, is whether American foreign policy shall at last achieve some broad conceptions, to coordinate our policies with those of the Soviet Union in the reconstruction of a durable peace.

The present situation has begun to answer the first question. We have to, and are going to, make war to the finish on the continent of Europe. This may have been a question-mark last fall; it might have been questioned this spring despite the many assurances of our war leaders. But the crisis in Italy has a logic which is enforcing rapid and decisive military action irrespective of what the most reluctant elements in this country and Britain might have desired.

For example, the events of the week in which this is written have shown that if we cannot get a rapid and unconditional surrender from the Italian king and his marshal, the Allies must apply ruthless war in a big way to bring that about. This was a key thought in Churchill's and Roosevelt's speeches of last week.

But let us assume, perhaps by the time these lines are read, that the Italian king and his marshal are compelled to surrender on Eisenhower's terms. The moment that happens, it will be seen that such surrender is only the first step, and will itself compel us to continue the war into the heart of the continent. For our aim must be to use Italy as a basis to grapple with Germany. This is not a matter of merely negotiating for naval bases at Genoa, or air bases in the Po Valley. It is a matter of enlisting the Italian people in a war of liberation against the Visigoths.

Even if our military men were hesitant on this score, the fact that Germany was using the delay last week to occupy the Istrian peninsula, Trieste and Fiume, made it clear that unconditional surrender will inevitably involve the transformation of Italy from an enemy into an ally. Either way, therefore, if the surrender is delayed, or the surrender takes place, making war into the plains of Lombardy, into southern France, into the Balkans, becomes a military necessity flowing from the upheaval in the Axis. It is clear that the second front in France can greatly assist this development, just as our landing in northern Italy will make easier and more necessary the second front in France. It is clear also that while the immediate aim of the Italian people is to force an immediate peace—which is also the chief aim of the Allies—the forcing of peace for Italy represents a stage in the development of the war from Italian soil.

And it is precisely around this point that the bargaining has revolved. The King and Badoglio, representing the Italian ruling class in crisis, would ideally prefer a kind of Vichy "neutrality." We, however, would like them to get out of the war, and so quickly that the Germans cannot take advantage of the delay. But we cannot endure the kind of peace which would make Italy a barrier to our campaign against Hitler. Thus, the paradox. The peace-makers will inevitably establish conditions for the further prosecution of the war They cannot do otherwise.

THIS point grasped, it will be seen what a highway has been opened up by the Italian crisis for new perspectives in American foreign policy. For what is true of Italy is true of every part of Europe—with the possible exception of Germany itself. That is, wherever we liberate and break up the Axis, we will not be able to establish a vacuum; the void which is left as the stench of fascism rises, must be filled by a war of our own armies together with the occupied peoples.

Almost every reader saw this point last December; it is now becoming clear even to the bull-headed State Department of ours that we cannot establish a Vichy France in North Africa once our own landing there destroyed the original Vichy in France.

Laval and Petain were ugly geraniums that could not be transplanted. Once we got to North Africa, the problem speedily became one of mobilizing its armies, its resources, and its people. Some of our statesmen tried to forestall or delay this process but events have proved their effort a dismal failure.

While the situation must be examined afresh at each new point, the same general consideration holds everywhere in Europe. For Hitler must try to keep our armies as far away from Germany as possible: he will try to fight in Trieste, in Greece, in Yugoslavia, in Marseilles, in Norway. To grapple with that, the unconditional surrender of Hitler's satellites in different parts of Europe can only be a preliminary step before either elements of their ruling classes, or their popular forces independently, make themselves our allies.

THIS brings me to the second problem: the problem of whom we base ourselves upon when we fight in Europe itself. It is quite true that the United States and Great Britain as capitalist countries, governed by

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Michaels in New Masses of Dec. 15, 1943.

more or less conservative ruling groups, fear the *demos*, the masses. This is especially true in those Axis lands where upheaval must be violent, as pent-up energies of two or twenty years are released. The *New York Times* editorial page has been trying all last week to determine the point where fascism is destroyed but the popular forces do not "get out of hand." We can look this in the face without too much worry. Because the real question is not whether our ruling circles would like to base themselves on reactionary social forces in Europe; the real question is whether they can, and still abide by the logic of the war. In other words, we are not concerned —except for the purposes of historical description—with what they would like to do; we are concerned with what they must in all probability do. And we are concerned with how quickly they recognize the necessities that confront them.

It would be much easier, of course, if our ruling groups would learn from experience or from example. By example, I mean for instance, the organization of a Free Germany committee in Moscow which calls on the German army and the German people to arise and become allies in the destruction of Hitler. By experience I mean the evolution of French politics in the last half year. To be fair, there have been some signs of learning. They have learned from France; and if the establishment of contact between the British headquarters in Cairo and the Yugoslav Partisans, announced three weeks ago, means anything, it means that the mists over the British Foreign Office may be the smoke of somebody doing some difficult thinking.

But perhaps it is in the rapidly moving alternatives within Italy that the new orientations of American policy are being molded. The crisis of fascism has presented us with two forces: Badoglio and the King on the one hand; on the other, the five-party coalition in northern Italy which stands at the head of the vital industrial population of Italy.

Our liberal friends and the newspapers in which they speak are fearful of a deal with Badoglio. They have dug up his record and find it smells. They are crying aloud at another Darlan deal. This hatred of Darlanism is a positive thing which everybody shares. It is a measure of how deeply the liberationist character of the war has gripped wide sections of the people. It breathes the deepest of democratic instincts.

But the question is not whether a deal will be made with Badoglio. After all, we would accept an unconditional surrender from any of our enemies, Hitler included. The act of unconditional surrender is the capitulation of our enemy's armies, the cessation of his hostilities against us. It involves no issues of moral integrity or ultimate aims on our own part. It is only after unconditional surrender becomes a fact that the question arises of whether, in gaining such a surrender, we may be helping to delay the full defeat and eradication of fascism as a system.

But can Badoglio maintain fascist or quasi-fascist rule in Italy any more? Is it really possible to make a permanent deal with Badoglio and the King which preserves the structure of fascism? Events are already shaping a negative answer. The quick emergence of the popular coalition of the Socialists and Communists, Liberals and Catholic republicans, has already shown that Badolgio is not the full master of the situation. Miraculously, with heroic speed and complete self-control, the Italian underground emerged within one day of Mussolini's fall, and is now the determining factor, not only in the Italian situation but in influencing Allied policy.

While Badoglio will undoubtedly try to bolster his rule against the desires of the Italian people, a number of his actions, the formal dissolution of the fascist party, the release of political prisoners, the pledge of elections, are in direct response to the pressure of the democratic forces. The decisive thing, which is so hopeful for American

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policy, lies in a situation which the whole world can see: Eisenhower's demands for surrender found their strongest support in the demands of the *Milano Liberta* radio. Even Eisenhower himself cannot help but notice that the people within Italy who dovetail with his own demands are precisely the popular leaders. Thus any deal with Badoglio already takes place in a situation in which he is not the full master.

But even assuming he were the full master, the very premise of Badoglio's assumption of power prevents him from making a permanent peace with us that leaves the structure of Italian power unchanged. For, as we discussed above, Badoglio came to power to hold the situation together, to control the Italian masses, to neutralize Italy in the war, perhaps to enable Germany to make the best of a bad situation. As Churchill emphasized, we cannot afford a neutral Italy; we can only have an allied Italy if we are to fight the Nazis under the best possible conditions. For this purpose, Badoglio cannot come along with us, and must yield power to other forces. Or if he does come along with us, he comes in alliance wtih other forces, and is no longer the Badoglio whom the liberal papers are quoting so profusely as of 1935.

The real emphasis of American liberals ought, therefore, be not an abstract concern with suspicions of what Roosevelt, Churchill, or the State Department would like to do: that is irrelevant and rather insulting to our war leaders. For even if one suspected the intention of our leaders, the way to change the situation is by full support to the demands of the democratic coalition within Italy. As that coalition grows in strength, Badoglio must either yield or change. Full and unconditional support to our war leaders, mobilization of the Italian-American population behind the unity of the democratic coalition in Italy, becomes the best service that Americans can do in shaping a proper course for our foreign policy.

I realize that Churchill's speech has some passages, in which he spoke of not breaking down the "structure and expression" of the Italian state, and in which he warned of the perils of an American or British gauleitership within Italy that tries to govern every phase of Italian life. Some may see in this spectres of preserving "authority and order," the phrases whereby counter-revolution was perpetrated in 1919. But they miss the new elements in this world situation. Certainly neither do we wish to destroy all authority and order within Italy; nor do we wish a gauleitership of Italy. The democratic coalition in Italy, like the working class and progressive labor movement everywhere is in principle opposed to disorder and anarchy. Like the *Milano Liberta* radio last week, it poses the self-discipline and order necessary for defeating fascism to the violence of fascism, the complete anarchy and decay to which fascism leads. We may not mean precisely the same thing that Churchill means, but we can agree with him and the President that anarchy is not desirable, that authority is a necessary accompaniment of the war of liberation.

In the case of Italy it will soon be seen that no matter how attractive Badoglio's "order" may be to some circles in this country and Britain, the decisive question is whether he makes war upon us or surrenders. Whereas it will also be seen that the democratic coalition, whose immediate interest is to make peace with us, stands for the self-discipline and order of the Italian people against the disorder which is fascism. As Count Carlo Sforza, the noted Italian exile, remarked on July 31, America must try to overcome "formalistic conceptions of order and authority" and realize that the upheaval in northern Italy has nothing to do with Hearstian conceptions of revolution but represents the indispensable outpouring of Italy's will on the road to peace and liberty.

For when we come to the problem of fighting Germany from Italian soil, we will need the sternest discipline in the Italian factories and the sternest order in the Italian armies. And we will find that such order cannot be imposed by AMGOT except insofar as the democratic forces impose it. And we will find that the workers of Turin, Milan, Florence, whose vast strikes paved the way for Mussolini's debacle, will be the first to abjure strikes and speed production for the war against Germany. It will be a second *Risorgimento*.

Which brings up the third problem. Up to now we have been discussing the probable necessities which the fires of mass upheaval are forging for American foreign policy. But to develop a consciously democratic policy, which is in harmony with the course of events, we need a conception of the future of Europe. The kind of Europe that coincides with the basic national interest of our country.

It is the great service of the Free Germany committee established in Moscow —in these same fateful weeks—that it offers all the United Nations, and not merely Russia, the underlying conception of a democratic Europe. Free Germany is, of course, many things. It is first of all a war measure: it calls for the upheaval within the German army and the German people that can shorten the war, and save British, Russian, American life and treasure. It is also a sign of Soviet initiative in the political field. For undoubtedly, the Soviet press by publicizing the formation of this committee on its soil, was indicating the USSR's intention to share directly in the reconstruction of Europe.

But these aspects are not primary to this discussion. Only the pro-Hitlerites will worry if the Free Germany committee sets a fire under Hitler's rump. And since the decisive opinion of this country and Britain is agreed that Russia must share in the reconstruction of Europe, it need not worry us that the committee is established on Soviet soil.

The important thing is to appreciate the conception which Free Germany is giving us of a future central Europe, and to agree among ourselves that such a conception coincides with our own national interest. For what is the American interest vis a vis Germany? I mean the basic interest that transcends the interests of classes in our society. That interest is determined by the basic reasons for our present struggle with Germany. We are at war with Germany because her imperialism conquered Europe, threatened to break out into Asia, Africa and Latin America, and by alliance with Japan attempted to destroy the independence of the United States. Our interest is to prevent German imperialism from ever doing that again. Free Germany has precisely this aim—which is the common aim of the United Nations. Free Germany proposes to do this first by having the German people themselves play their role in overthrowing Hitler, and second by creating a democratic republic of a new type, in which the Prussian imperialists are moved off the stage of history forever.

The Free Germany committee does not plan a Soviet republic in Germany—and all commentators with the exception of the Hearsts and the bankrupt Social Democrats have noted and accepted this fact. Free Germany proposes a democratic republic in which all forces that share in Hitler's overthrow shall share in Germany's rebuilding. And this is not a mere "Stalin maneuver": it flows from the fact that this is not a war for socialism, but a war for the national independence of every nation in the world, including that submerged nation which is Germany. The all-national and democratic character of this new Germany flows from the all-national forces that are required to defeat Hitler, and from the democratic renaissance which is required to kill off the roots of Prussian imperialism in Germany.

All these questions have been posed by the crisis of the Axis in Italy these past two weeks. We are in the process of a great turning point in the course of the war, which, if we are ready to act in harmony with events, can speed the destruction of Hitlerism immeasurably. We are also on the verge of a decisive clarification of our foreign policy, which, if we act in harmony with the imperatives of the situation, can immensely inspire the oppressed peoples of the world, our Allies, and not the least, the American people. Never was so much at stake for so many in such a short space of time.

Joseph Starobin.

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WHAT ITALY'S PEOPLE WANT

"Change in Italy," Mary Testa writes, "will not stop with Badoglio and the King, nor be stopped by them." The kind of government which immediately succeeded Mussolini is not the issue.

AFTER twenty-one years of enforced silence and shameful oppression, the real Italian nation has come to the fore and issued a ringing call for peace and freedom. This is the dominating facet in the Italian picture. An entire people has risen to give fresh content to the meaning of national liberation in this people's war.

The news of Mussolini's ignominious departure had scarcely reached the ears of a rejoicing world when the Italian people gave further evidence that they were finally taking matters into their own hands. And Badoglio was forced to proclaim martial law in an effort to stay the revolt sweeping the industrial centers of Northern Italy. But not even martial law, or the King's pleas for calmness and discipline and against recriminations, could halt the Italians from heralding their desire for peace, from proclaiming their will to put an end to German enslavement.

The popular movements which began in Turin and Milan many months ago on a mass scale and reached new heights in the two weeks preceding Mussolini's eclipse, were not going to be throttled by a mere change in government. Mussolini's ouster was but the first step. Italians are determined to expel the Nazis and make peace with the United Nations; they are no less determined to regain their liberties and punish their betrayers. If the King and his far-from-anti-fascist Marshal will not submit to this will of the war-weary, freedom-hungry Italians, then their proclamations and their martial law will not save them.

Of course, the King is fascism's partner in crime. Of course Badoglio is not an anti-fascist but a reactionary who never lifted a finger against Mussolini but indeed helped to save him with the campaigns in Ethiopia and Spain. But what the opponents of Darlanism do not see in the present events in Italy is that Mussolini's ouster, the subsequent steps taken by the King and the appointment of Badoglio as the sawdust Caesar's successor, *are but the initial results of the acts of the Italian people and the Italian army*. It was these latter who refused to defend Sicily against the Allies as they had refused to fight in Greece, Africa, and Russia. The paramount fact to remember and to remind the hysterical prophets of doom is that *change in Italy will not stop with Badoglio and the King, nor be stopped by them.*

Twenty-one years ago the decadent House of Savoy and Italy's corrupt ruling classes called on Mussolini to save them from a people's revolution. For twenty-one years Mussolini managed, through terror and demagogy, to stave off the inevitable hour of reckoning. But when his regime no longer served that purpose, when in fact it precipitated revolt and disaffection in the armed forces by its betrayal of Italy to Nazi Germany; when by its policy it also risked the economic positions of Italian ruling classes, those rulers along with the House of Savoy had to act to save themselves and to check, if they could, the action of the people.

But Italians are not out to save the House of Savoy and those forces which, under the protection of fascism, plundered them and dragged Italy into a war that threatened national extinction. The Italian people are out to save Italy, to save themselves; they are out to sever the alliance with Germany—they are out to win peace, bread, and freedom.

THUS the kind of government which has immediately succeeded Mussolini's regime is not the focal question of the moment. The paramount question for us, for the United Nations, for victory in the war—just as for the Italian people—is to knock Italy out of the war as soon as possible. The key issue is to isolate Germany, the key enemy, and to make peace with Italy on the basis of the Casablanca ultimatum: unconditional surrender.

It is a cause for rejoicing—and those anti-Darlanist liberals should rejoice with us who are no less anti-Darlanist—that both Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt have reiterated their demand for unconditional surrender, and for the use of Italian arms, territory, and bases against the common enemy of the United Nations and the Italian people—Hitler Germany. Any peace with honor—on both sides—must be based on the prime requisite that it shall advance the cause of humanity against Nazism and not aid Germany in any way. For we cannot overlook the fact that a peace which merely "neutralizes" Italy, which causes us to relinquish any political or military advantages we now have in the war against Germany, would be a Hitler victory—something he and his late partner had attempted through a negotiated peace with the Allies.

Events in Italy immediately following Mussolini's resignation revealed that the Italian National Front, led by five anti-fascist parties, adopted as its slogans Peace with the United Nations, Expulsion of the Nazis, Bread and Liberty. The manifesto of the five parties—the Christian Democratic Party (Catholic), the Liberal Reconstruction Party, the Party of Action,

Italian-Americans, at a meeting in Cooper Union, New York, cheer and make the V sign when Rep. Vito Marcantonio announces Mussolini's downfall.

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the Socialist and Communist Parties—published in *La Stampa* of Turin—revealed that the Italian national front was no myth conjured up by wishful thinkers, but a living, active reality.

MEANWHILE, the people of Milan, Como, Turin, Rome, and other cities have stormed fascist jails releasing political prisoners; they have besieged and burned fascist headquarters and newspaper offices. They are making clear to the world that they have become the custodians of their freedom, to make of Italy a really independent, democratic nation.

Radio *Milano-Liberta*, which for the past two years has been urging the Italian people to overthrow Mussolini and break the Axis pact, has issued a call to complete the process of the liberation of Italy; expulsion of Nazi troops and acceptance of the peace terms of the United Nations. It warns against an attempt by Hitler to send in troops to take over Italy, even as it warns against any attempt to restore Mussolini in order to continue the war at Hitler's side.

In the fast pace of events in Italy, one thing emerges. The United Nations and the Italian people are fighting for the same things—our interests and theirs correspond. This is the important thing to keep in mind. This is why the Allied offensive, begun so auspiciously in Sicily, and which helped deliver the final blow to Mussolini, must be extended into Italy until its surrender, and must be extended into western Europe to crush Nazi Germany while it is rocking on its heels from the military blows on the Eastern Front and the political blows from inside Italy.

The repercussions of events in Italy will be tremendous throughout Europe and cannot but affect the course of the war. That is why it is so important at this time not to make false issues appear to be real, or to over-emphasize points secondary to the main issues.

A very real danger, not only to the Italian people and the cause of Italy's final liberation, but dangerous to the whole prosecution of the war, is the attempt made by forces centered in New York to impose on Italy a regime and a peace that would imperil the country. The popular movement in Italy today is a *national* movement. It is a movement for the national independence and liberation of Italy. But Luigi Antonini, a Social Democrat and Red-baiter, and Generoso Pope, publisher of an Italian daily paper and a very recent convert from fascism, have launched a committee to "save Italy from Communism." Associated with them are some Italian-Americans in the judiciary and certain leaders of the Sons of Italy. Thus the threadbare bogey which brought Mussolini to power in 1922, that same bogey that Hitler has used to divide the peoples of Europe, is now being resurrected to disrupt any broad alliance of Italian-Americans in this country and to hinder the National Front in Italy.

The Antonini-Pope coterie falsify events in Italy. But more, in order to confuse matters, they too cry out against "Darlanism" and warn about the character of Badoglio and the House of Savoy. But who in Italy would make terms on the conditions posed by Antonini—suppression of powerful and broad sectors of the movement for Italian national liberation? These individuals even talk of restoring Italian colonies in the name of the Atlantic Charter! With their "Communist menace" talk they would foment civil war in Italy at a time when maximum unity around the Italian National Front program is essential to the United Nations' war effort.

But from the way things are moving, this time Antonini has over-reached himself. Right within his own organization—the Italian-American Labor Council—members of the Executive Board, as well as leading officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, have issued a statement condemning Antonini and his maneuvering. The Socialist paper *La Parola* has formed a committee in opposition to Antonini, while other progressives have achieved a certain unity with groups heretofore working either independently or even at times with Antonini.

In the past many Italian-Americans had been led to believe that Mussolini would go on forever. Now this illusion has toppled. They watch with emotion and anxiety the unfolding events in Italy. The hold which the Antoninis and Popes have had on them is waning but it will take hard work to undo the confusion and division of two decades. The Italian rebirth, however, will in many respects achieve what has been a difficult task in the past. And whoever stands in the way will be swept aside by forces that are immensely greater than any mere personality or group.

MARY TESTA.

Mary Testa is an editor of the Italian newspaper "L'Unita del Popolo."

The poem below is from the forthcoming "War Poems of the United Nations" edited by Joy Davidman and soon to be published by Dial Press.

For Odessa

I've known you since childhood,
Pearl of the South.
I shall keep you in my heart,
remembering happy meetings
and soft days of sun
like the kiss of a girl.

Deep in my eyes
the savage blue of your sky and sea
lives, and the silver undersides of leaves,
and flowers which trouble the peaceful heart;
starry spray of the breaking waves
and quick shadows of seagulls over the sands of home.

And now they come
with their fanged mouths and iron feet
to tarnish your beauty with dishonor.
But you have courage flowing in your streets
as the sun flows over the morning rooftops;
the appalling sunrise finds you unafraid.

With barricades, grenades, and cannon;
with bottles hastily filled with nitroglycerine;
with the strength of your sailors
and their bayonets shining in the slant autumn light;
with sail and seagull
you fight the Fascists.

And now that I see you
look grim as stone
and dark in your anger;
you are dearer to me than you ever were,
you are nearer than ever to my fighting heart.

BORIS VESELCHAKOV.
(*adapted by Joy Davidman*).

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ALP PRIMARY: PRIMARY ISSUES

The truth behind David Dubinsky's conspiracy to perpetuate the "Communist bogey." Simon W. Gerson discusses the genuine issues at stake.

BENITO is gone but Luigi carries on. If the Sawdust Caesar no longer struts the stage we still have the butterfly-tie Antonini bellowing basso profundo against the menace of Bolshevism. Mr. Antonini is currently worrying not only about the bogey of Communism in Europe but especially in the American Labor Party of New York State.

The tattered banner of anti-Communism, long ago rejected by the underground workers of Europe as the Nazi-fascist flag, now droops over the Hotel Claridge, home of the so-called Labor and Liberal Committee to Safeguard the American Labor Party (from the will of the membership, according to some wag). The venerable hostelry's faded carpets are worn thin by the ceaseless pacing of Messrs. Antonini, Alex Rose, and George Counts, occasionally aided by Dean Alfange and on even rarer occasions by godfather David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

For a primary fight is on, and August 10 the enrolled voters of the party are able to vote their own preference for county committeemen against the choices of Messrs. Antonini, Dubinsky, Rose, Counts, et al. Hence the necessity for proving some "Communist conspiracy" to capture the ALP. Hence the ancient words and music imported along with the Hitlerian overtones. It is the one tune the Claridge Symphony knows and it needs must play it continually in all its dissonance.

If the aged lyric has not the charm of old, blame it on a lot of things. Blame it on the downfall of Mussolini, hastened not only by Allied arms but by the pressure of a united underground including Communists, Socialists, Catholics, and republicans. Blame it on CIO policies which consistently support the win-the-war line of President Roosevelt and refuse to go in for Republican-helping pseudo-third parties. Blame it on the growing awareness of the ALP voters of the anti-Soviet, pro-John L. Lewis line of David Dubinsky, the real leader of the State ALP forces.

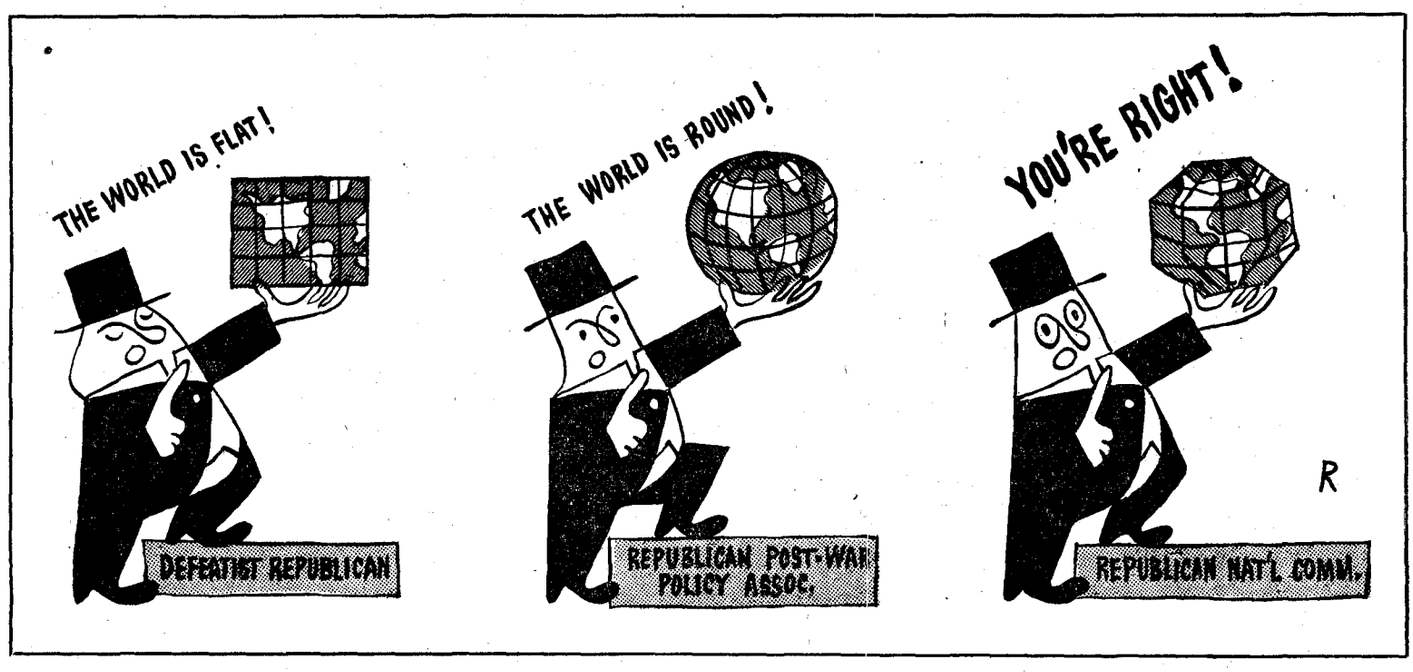
The fact remains that the anti-Communist smoke screen of the Social-Democratic group leading the State ALP has been largely dissolved and the real issues in the ALP have begun to emerge.

THE history of the struggle provides an interesting clue to the policies and methods of the reactionary Social Democrats. Begun in 1936 as the New York arm of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party, then supporting President Roosevelt, was united. It included unions like the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, headed by David Dubinsky; middle-of-the-road groups, like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and various left progressive unions, primarily the CIO organizations. This unity helped sweep Mayor La Guardia back into a second term in 1937, and with the self-sacrificing support of the Communists in 1938, who withdrew their own candidate, helped reelect Gov. Herbert H. Lehman by the narrow margin of 64,000 votes.

However, this unity was obviously an unpleasant state of affairs to the Social Democrats, who only awaited a favorable opportunity for carrying on a wide wrecking campaign. Their first break came in September 1939, shortly after the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, at which time they sought to extract a loyalty oath, demanding that ALP members join in their hysterical anti-Soviet campaign under pain of expulsion. Councilman Michael J. Quill, who refused to do so, was denied re-nomination for City Council. Other bold spirits who declined to join in their witch-hunt were similarly treated. A process of elbowing out all those who did not see eye to eye with David Dubinsky and the small Red-baiting, anti-Soviet clique of Social Democrats began. By 1940 the Dubinsky crowd had a majority of the State Committee.

In 1941, an unsuccessful effort on their part to capture the New York County organization, headed by Rep. Vito Marcantonio and Eugene P. Connolly, was repulsed. In the meanwhile, they carried on a constant barrage against Marcantonio, the lone representative of the ALP in Congress, and in 1942 actively opposed his election.

So far did some of the members of the ALP State Committee go in their fanati-



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cal Red-baiting that at least one of them, Morris Ernst, openly supported the notorious Vichy legal representative, State Sen. Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., in his 1942 fight for reelection against the Democratic-ALP candidate. In the same election campaign, J. S. Afros, head of the Rand School and another Old Guard wheel horse, also backed Coudert. Dean Alfange, ALP gubernatorial candidate, was curiously silent about Coudert.

THAT entire fall campaign had certain remarkable features. Antonini openly expressed his preference for Republican Thomas E. Dewey. In return, there was little criticism from Republican headquarters of the extremely well-financed ALP campaign. It was common report in political circles that Dewey looked with more than a benevolent eye on the Dubinsky-Alfange campaign. It could not be sheer accident that three days after his election, Dewey appointed Dubinsky to a committee to study business conditions in New York City.

But more disturbing to many progressives was that shortly after election Dean Alfange and the Dubinsky forces embarked on a course of forming third parties in various states, notably Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and encouraging formation of one in Michigan. On the surface this would seem to be a progressive step, but actually at this time it would be the reverse of independent political action by labor. Under the law in most of those states the third party would only split the labor support for President Roosevelt (New York is one of the few states in which it is possible for a candidate to run on more than one ticket; i.e., to run on the Democratic Party and Labor Party tickets, as has been the case with Roosevelt, Lehman and La Guardia). Thus, in many quarters, the Alfange-Dubinsky antics were viewed with considerable suspicion.

This suspicion ripened considerably when Dubinsky opened up a double-barreled anti-Soviet drive in connection with the executions of Alter and Ehrlich as Nazi spies by the Soviet government. In this campaign, he sought to draw in certain elements of the CIO. He promptly received the blessings of some reactionary AFL leaders, and he managed to trap Sen. James M. Mead and Mayor La Guardia. Dubinsky's use of the Alter-Ehrlich incident was promptly followed by a blast against the motion picture *Mission to Moscow*, and a sudden literary interest in the Book-of-the-Month anti-Soviet publication *The Fifth Seal*, by Mark Aldanov.

But there still were many liberals who were charitable about little David's anti-Soviet excesses, putting them down tolerantly as part of an old and none too dangerous phobia entertained by that gentleman. It was the John L. Lewis application for reaffiliation to the AFL that really shocked many persons in and around the labor movement and brought the picture into true focus. Here the guiding hand of David Dubinsky was clearly revealed.

Victor Riesel, labor editor of the New York *Post*, former managing editor of the Social-Democratic *New Leader* and today virtually the Social-Democratic mouthpiece in the New York press, gave the whole show away in his New York *Post* column of May 27, in which he wrote:

"I learned that Lewis' latest move was prompted to a large extent by the advice of David Dubinsky. Last November Dubinsky had a long conference with Lewis shortly after the Miners Union Convention voted to leave the CIO.

"Three months later in Washington, Dubinsky had another long session with the miners' leader. The energetic New Yorker wasted little time in urging the big miner to forget his complaints and to return to the AFL."

Much became clear then. The significance of the dressmakers' strike in January called by Dubinsky in defiance of labor's no-strike pledge was seen in its true light as encouragement to the anti-war forces within the AFL and as a signal of support to John L. Lewis. A sinister Lewis-Dubinsky-Woll-Hutcheson pro-Republican bloc was in the making. Within the bloc was an obvious division of labor, with Lewis and Hutcheson actively working with the Old Guard Republicans, and David Dubinsky assisting the Republicans by means of third parties in certain crucial states, these parties being designed to alienate labor from Roosevelt.

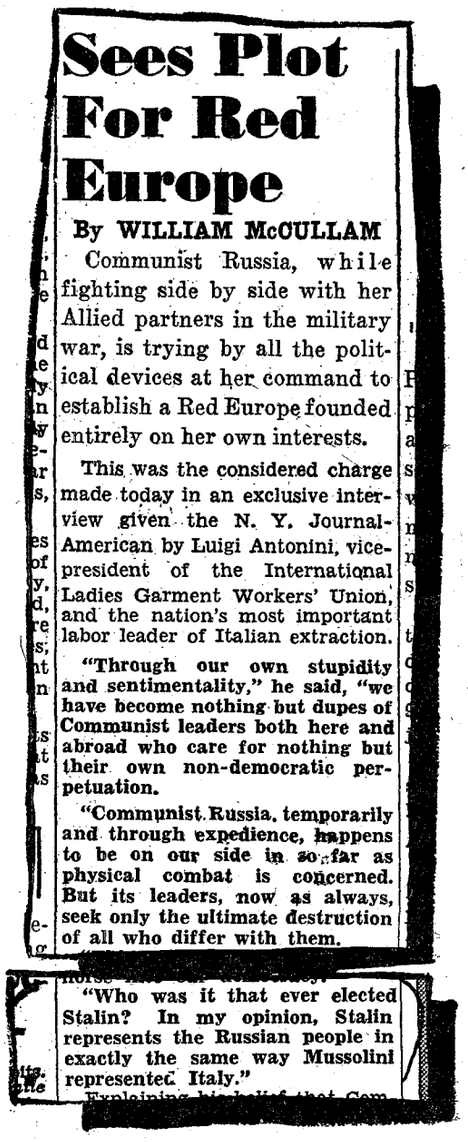
THUS, the Dubinsky policies add up to: (1) Opposition to the fundamental war policies of President Roosevelt, to active military and political collaboration with our great allies, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China, for unconditional surrender of the Axis. David Dubinsky and the leading Social-Democratic spirits of the American Labor Party in deeds reject this policy. They hate the Soviet Union more than they fear defeat. Dubinsky has openly associated himself with the notorious statement of N. Chanin, Educational Director of the Workmen's Circle, in the January 1943 issue of the Workmen's Circle organ, *The Friend*:

"The last shot has not been fired. It will still be fired . . . and from that shot the Stalin regime too will be shot to pieces. . . ."

Item: Chanin and anti-Soviet Eugene Lyons are both candidates for county committeemen on the Dubinsky ticket. Lyons' last book, *The Red Decade*, is being touted and sold in great quantity by the would-be American Fuehrer, Gerald L. K. Smith.

(2) Dubinsky is opposed to the no-strike pledge of the AFL and CIO and supports the position of John L. Lewis. His activity as broker for Lewis is so clearly a matter of record that it needs no further argument.

(3) Dubinsky's covert support of the Republican Party, not only by his association with Dewey in New York, but by the formation of third parties, is likewise abundantly clear. It is flatly opposed by the national CIO and the CIO's political action committee, headed by President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. At a July conference in Philadelphia at which 2,500,000 Eastern unionists were represented the Hillman committee overwhelmingly declared that "united labor action should not take the form of a third party at this time. For even apart from the technical problems of placing a third party on the ballot in 1944, such a party would today only serve to divide and divert the labor and progressive forces from our main task—unity for the election



Sees Plot For Red Europe

By WILLIAM McCULLAM

Communist Russia, while fighting side by side with her Allied partners in the military war, is trying by all the political devices at her command to establish a Red Europe founded entirely on her own interests.

This was the considered charge made today in an exclusive interview given the N. Y. Journal-American by Luigi Antonini, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and the nation's most important labor leader of Italian extraction.

"Through our own stupidity and sentimentality," he said, "we have become nothing but dupes of Communist leaders both here and abroad who care for nothing but their own non-democratic perpetuation.

"Communist Russia, temporarily and through expedience, happens to be on our side in so far as physical combat is concerned. But its leaders, now as always, seek only the ultimate destruction of all who differ with them.

"Who was it that ever elected Stalin? In my opinion, Stalin represents the Russian people in exactly the same way Mussolini represented Italy."

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of win-the-war candidates who fully support our Commander-in-Chief regardless of party affiliation."

(4) Clique control of the ALP by a narrow group of Social Democrats and Red-baiters. Dubinsky and his group want to perpetuate control of the organization by the same narrow group and exclude from leadership the great CIO unions like the clothing workers, electrical, transport, maritime, furriers, shoe, and white-collar, and other unions.

THESE are the real issues of the ALP primary fight and not the wholly manufactured one of "Communist control." Since the writer figures in the charges flung by the ALP State Committee, I will be pardoned for a somewhat personal note. In their major piece of literature, a costly red, white and blue folder sent to the 180,000 enrolled ALP voters in the city and widely publicized in the press, the Dubinsky group charged that the progressive leaders of the New York County Committee, Rep. Vito Marcantonio and Eugene P. Connolly, were only the leaders of "a Communist conspiracy." As "proof" they adduced an extract from a report given by me to the Communist Party state committee on May 21 in which I urged the following:

"Help defeat the disruptive Dubinsky-Counts-Rose clique in the American Labor Party and strengthen the Marcantonio-Connolly group."

Had I said that and no more the ALP State leaders might have something approximating a case. But what I actually said in the course of an extensive discussion of the political situation in New York State was:

"As we see it, labor's duty in the New York State situation is to:

"(1) Strengthen the Roosevelt-win-the-war forces in the Democratic Party against the Farley-appeaser forces.

"(2) Strengthen the Willkie win-the-war wing in the Republican Party against the Hoover-Dewey wing.

"(3) Help defeat the disruptive Dubinsky-Counts-Rose clique in the American Labor Party and strengthen the Marcantonio-Connolly group *seeking to unite the ALP on a win-the-war program and broaden its leadership and mass base.*" (Emphasis mine—S.W.G.)

Comparison of the mutilated quotation offered by the State ALP with the original text makes the fraud at once patent. What the Communists urge are two things: first, that the win-the-war forces within all the political parties, Democratic, Republican, and ALP, be strengthened and, second, that the Marcantonio-Connolly group be strengthened because of its fight for unity and not in order to have it replace the dominant faction to the exclusion of other forces.

FURTHER proof of the non-existence of a Communist conspiracy to capture the ALP—if any were needed—is the prompt acceptance by the Marcantonio-Connolly forces of the recent proposals of Sidney Hillman to restore the original composition of the ALP, with unquestioned trade union control, so that it may function as a "genuine party of labor."

Marcantonio and Connolly promptly wrote to Hillman hailing his suggestions. "We extend our congratulations to you for this forthright, statesmanlike proposal," they wrote. "We wholeheartedly agree with your proposals and will do everything in our power to carry them out.

"We are writing in a similar vein to State Chairman George S. Counts and State Secretary Alex Rose, urging that they give favorable consideration to your suggestions which contemplate widening the party's trade union base to include the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

"A united American Labor Party can be decisive in carrying New York State for the win-the-war policies of President Roosevelt in the crucial elections of 1944. To that end, all trade unionists and friends of the Labor Party should bend their efforts."

What was the reaction of the Dubinsky clique? It was one of bitter resentment. Mr. Riesel, their faithful mouthpiece, reported "indignation" at the Hillman suggestion. It was shattering proof of their obdurate refusal to broaden and democratize the American Labor Party.

IF THE foregoing arguments are not enough to convince the average Laborite of the character of the state leadership of the American Labor Party, perhaps Mr. Antonini's latest antics will. In an exclusive interview in the Hearst *Journal-American* of July 27, Antonini went all-out against the Soviet Union and the Communists in language that a Joseph Goebbels might envy. Antonini virtually called for the dissolution of the alliance of the United Nations and for the treatment of the Soviet Union, our greatest fighting ally, as an enemy power.

"Communist Russia, temporarily and through expedience, happens to be on our side insofar as physical combat is concerned," Antonini said. "But its leaders, now as always, seek only the ultimate destruction of all who differ with them. This includes fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and, ultimately, the democratic United States of America. To this end she is working right now, in all three countries."

Mussolini, whose overthrow was urged by the American government, and Stalin are precisely the same, according to Antonini. "Stalin represents the Russian people in exactly the same way Mussolini represented Italy."

Compare that with Roosevelt's tribute to Stalin on July 28, when the President said:

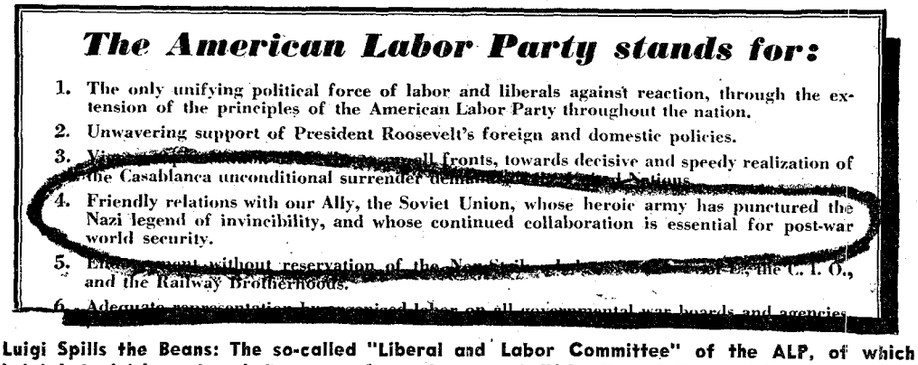
"The world has never seen greater devotion, determination, and self-sacrifice than have been displayed by the Russian people and their armies under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.

"With a nation which in saying itself is thereby helping to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country of ours should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future."

Antonini's outburst was one of those "slips" that reveals much. It expressed the deep but discreetly concealed feelings of the small clique which runs the ALP state committee. It was so obviously contrary to the established foreign policy of our nation that some ALP leaders privately admitted it was the final blow to their hopes of victory in the August 10 primaries.

The enrolled voters of the American Labor Party will undoubtedly go to the polls on August 10 and bury Red-baiting. They will help build a united American Labor Party which will effectively carry out its great function today, in 1944 and thereafter—mobilizing support behind the win-the-war policies of the Commander-in-Chief for unconditional surrender of the Axis and a just and durable peace.

S. W. GERSON.


The American Labor Party stands for:
1. The only unifying political force of labor and liberals against reaction, through the extension of the principles of the American Labor Party throughout the nation.
2. Unwavering support of President Roosevelt's foreign and domestic policies.
3.
4. Friendly relations with our Ally, the Soviet Union, whose heroic army has punctured the Nazi legend of invincibility, and whose continued collaboration is essential for post-war world security.
5.
and the Railway Brotherhoods.
6.

Luigi Spills the Beans: The so-called "Liberal and Labor Committee" of the ALP, of which Luigi Antonini is a vice-chairman, professes to support "friendly relations with our ally, the Soviet Union," while bitterly Red-baiting real ALP progressives in its campaign appeals. But Antonini tells a different story—see the clipping on the opposite page from Hearst's New York "Journal American"—concerning that "support."

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UNITY WITH COMMUNISTS?

SOME OUTSTANDING CITIZENS ANSWER A QUESTION THAT CONCERNS OUR NATIONAL WELL-BEING

Can Communists and non-Communists unite? This question was discussed in the light of the dissolution of the Communist International in an exchange of letters between Max Lerner and A. B. Magil in our July 13 issue. We continue the presentation of comments on this discussion by prominent Americans as well as by our readers. More will appear in future issues. In writing to these individuals we asked for their replies on the following questions:

(1) What effect do you think the dissolution of the Communist International will have on national and international unity in the war and the peace?

(2) What is your estimate of the effect on the social and political life of our country of Red-baiting and other manifestations of the "Red menace" myth?

(3) Would you favor collaboration of non-Communists with Communists to liquidate the Communist bugaboo which Hitler and his allies in this country have found so effective in disrupting our unity?

(4) Do you think that the Communist Party, in view of the fact that it is directing its energies to the support of the war and subordinating all other questions, ought to be treated as an integral part of the nation's win-the-war forces, as is the case in China, France, Yugoslavia, and other countries?

We also suggested that the answers might be in the form of comment on the Lerner-Magil correspondence and on our own editorial statement published in the same issue.—The Editors.

Ralph Bates

(Novelist and Critic)

Sometime before the dissolution of the Comintern I wrote in the *Nation* that the advantages that a United Front would confer on the socialist movement would outweigh the disadvantages. For a long time one thing has seemed certain to me. Very soon after victory the reactionaries, forced into this war by their imperialist necessities, will once more mount a fresh offensive against that transformation of society without which the war will have had only negative significance. Amid all the conflicting phenomena that are bound to occur they are only too likely to find their task made easier because of the prevailing hostility between the two wings of socialism.

The chief advantage, then, of a United Front would be the negative one of strengthening our offensive action. There might be some positive reform, though that hope did not directly influence my decision. United Fronts, so long as wide differences of tactic exist within them, are neither stable enough, nor sufficiently sure of their direction to serve as transformers of society. At the most, even when they take office, they serve as pressure groups.

Advocacy of a United Front is not to be based on sentimentality or upon abstract arguments about unity but upon a series of estimates. If I did not believe that the postwar onslaught of reaction will be tremendous and sustained, I should not have been brought to consider these problems. Similarly I base my thinking upon the estimate that after the war the two tendencies in socialism will once more exist in open party form, and that neither will win exclusive direction before the bell rings. In some countries, notably Britain, the Communist Party will be far stronger than before, stronger even than it is now, but will not be able to dominate affairs. Again, I have weighed the chances of building new parties that might supersede both wings. The rapid growth of Common Wealth in Britain tells what *kind* of socialism people want, but that Common Wealth will be able to win over much of the labor vote once the political truce is at an end, I do not believe.

You will see that this particular case rests upon the far more important belief that Western society can only be transformed if the two tendencies are entirely fused into one. There is no place here for sustained argument, yet I profoundly believe that the division of the movement into two wings has proved an almost total disaster. I do not hold the view shared apparently by Messrs. Laski and Lerner, that the founders of the Third International were to blame. Once the Second International had failed to meet the challenge of 1914, it was inevitable that the split should occur. It would have occurred had the October Revolution failed. Mr. Lerner is wrong in saying that Mr. Magil's point is "barren conjectural history." It is a statement of causality. But if there were place for lengthy analysis I believe it could be shown that the form which the merciless debate took, of reform versus revolution, was itself a false abstraction. After Nazism came to power the abstraction became even more unreal. For me, then, while the United Front is necessary for defense, integral unity alone can help us to realize our creative ideas.

So far I have described my thought as it was prior to the dissolution of the Third International. Serious reflection on that event has given me fresh hope and new arguments. I disagree entirely with Mr. Magil, who seems to insist, as Mr. Lerner has said, that the event was meaningless. I have read Mr. Magil's article again and again and it seems to me that it could have been written at any time, irrespective of the dissolution of the Comintern.

You cannot fail to realize that the main obstacle to contact on the liberal side is the distrust aroused by the Communist line between October 1939 and June 1941. It is not merely that the memories of those days are still painful. It is not only that most liberals are, in their calmest moment, convinced that something of the kind will occur again. That epoch seemed to differentiate our aims and purposes so sharply that most liberals now consider that there can be no common means. I believe now that common action is possible, but I confess that the only arguments which at first brought me to abandon the prevailing opinion were those I have given above. So great is the danger ahead that I am proof against Mr. Magil's case, which will have a contrary effect on most liberals. To say to Communists "Guarantee to us that you will never again behave as you did in 1939-1941 and we will work with you," would be ridiculous and paltry. For my part, even though the two wings of socialism may again fall out, I am prepared to urge joint action. But I must warn you that that degree of objectivity is very rare, and that the estimates I make are challenged by men whom I very much respect. I am sure the Communist Party realizes that if you reach no more than the handful of men in this city who expressed agreement with my *Nation* article you will have failed.

Let us, then, consider the possible effects of the dissolution. The parties of the Second International had, in Western Europe, become afraid to govern in an epoch when the parliamentary effort to transform society might have led to violent reaction, as in Spain. The parties of the Third have committed an equal sin. They have permitted the vulgarization of the sound doctrine that a socialist can always deduce his position from that of the USSR. They be-

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came the pawns of Soviet foreign policy. To convince non-Communists of the contrary is totally impossible.

That Communists should have regarded the Government of the USSR as "not just another government" is perfectly natural. Communists were not alone in so doing. I think the twenty-year record of the leading organs of liberal opinion proves that enormous numbers of men have tried, in their own way, to understand and further the best interests of the Soviet Union. And whatever may have been the immediate consequence of Communist mistakes, that attitude is still not entirely gone. Much as I dislike certain features of Soviet policy I agree with Mr. Magil here. Rather more than less his position is mine.

However, had the Communist Party remembered that it is often a very complex matter to discover exactly which defense out of many possible defenses is the right one, there might never have arisen that violent conflict between defense of the Soviet and that defense of those European liberties which are so essential to socialism. There might not have occurred that sharpest instance which is still the main origin of present hostility.

That the conflict has *objectively* existed is proved by the British case. On Sept. 2, 1939, the British Communist Party leadership unanimously decided to support the war, while correctly calling for such a government as the Labor Party and Mr. Churchill were later able to bring into existence. The Central Committee Resolution was published, together with a pamphlet by Harry Pollitt and much other literature. From these sources it is evident that Soviet requirements were expressly considered. The argument ran, "If we and France go down, the USSR will be left alone to face Hitler's Reich and Fascist Europe." The Russian yardstick, in British hands, had measured a line that was sound for British socialism.

On Oct. 6, 1939, that line was changed at the demand of the Communist International, but not without an extraordinary debate in the Central Committee. Loyalty to the International was one of the arguments put forward in support of the new line. Had the Comintern *not* existed then, the British party's first defense of the Soviet Union would have remained as the party line. June 1941 proved that the party's second line had been, *objectively considered*, a sustained attack on the safety of the USSR.

Here, then, is my principal reason for welcoming the dissolution of the International. It gives the Communist parties freedom at all times to adopt a defense of the Soviet Union which shall not conflict with national requirements. And that is one essential of unity. You see, it is not a question of asking you to abandon the Soviet Union. That would be to ask you to commit treason to socialism itself.

The dissolution will have no automatic consequence. Whether it turns out to have been an epoch-making (rather than an epoch-closing) event depends upon the socialist movement and chiefly upon the Communist Party. To what extent the Party needs to remold itself if it is to seize this opportunity, I do not know. There is, however, a tendency to suppose that the dissolution of the Comintern will enable the Party to make a permanent swing to the right, or finally to jettison the revolutionary elements that still survive in its philosophy. I am not impressed by this view. The Comintern, it seems to me, has for long been a plaster cast on the feet of the Party. Once that cast has been broken, the Party may restore its circulation by striding freely. It is the socialist significance of the Party, that is to say, which may in the long run be enhanced by the dissolution of the controlling agency. There is a tremendous danger that the Party, deceived by momentary successes, will not discard the bad methods of the past. But, for my part, I think it would be far easier, in the context of future crises, for resolute socialists to work with a Communist Party that did not obscure its final intentions. Doubtless that would depend upon the degree to which, say, non-Communists made up their minds about socialism. In Britain, for example, a labor government that was determined to transform society would be more likely to receive genuine Communist support than a weak-willed one. But if the Second International parties confront the postwar world with no increase of courage, then the effects of the dissolution may be to put the Communist Parties ahead of them. That possibility was taken into account in the earlier part of this reply. It is not in conflict with my belief that the two tendencies in socialism must be brought together.

In conclusion I would ask you to reflect upon the Party's experience. It is clear, I think, that the Party has only been an invigorating, national force in periods when it has broadened its conceptions to include the aspirations of the non-sectarian idealist. It is impossible to forget that, during 1936-38, your party was the life and soul of the most ennobling cause of our time, the cause of the Spanish people against fascism. Thousands upon thousands of people were grateful to you then. In that period they learned more about the true purposes of living than you have ever been able to teach them since.

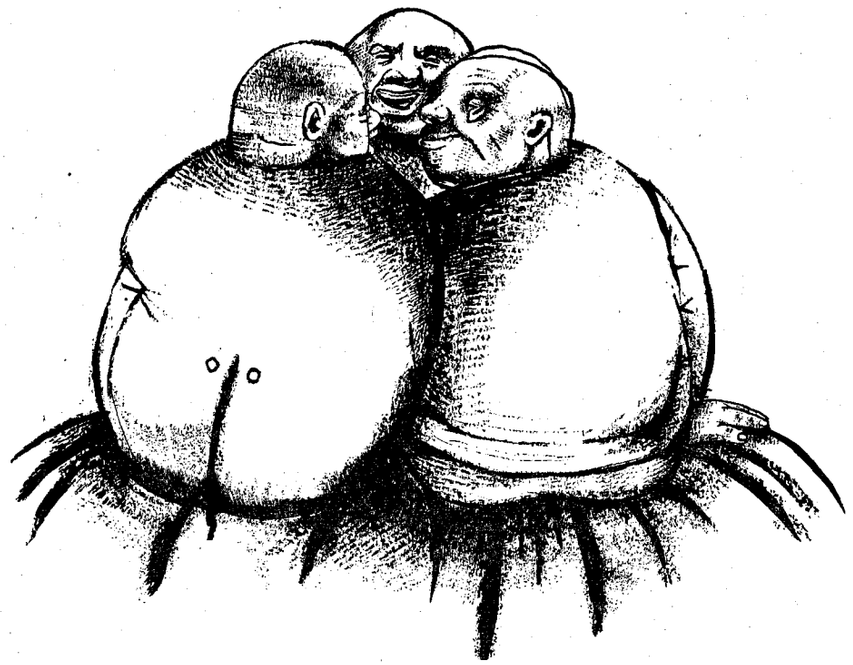
Frank Tuttle

Film Writer and Director

The answer to your question, "Can Communists and non-Communists unite?", is certainly of vital importance for every American to answer today when Hitler's hoodlums here are desperately throwing every dirty punch in the book to slug us into disunity and a (negotiated) peace that would indeed pass all understanding.

At the same time it is one of the silliest questions I can imagine being asked. Here's why I say that.

On my radio the other night a commentator announced that the Italian underground (composed of republicans, Socialists, Communists—every kind of anti-fascist) had declared that it was preparing to set up a constitutional republic (barring only fascists) the moment the Allies landed



"America is such an ideal place for race riots, Herr Kuemmel. They will always be attributed to 'natural causes.'"

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and, with the help of the underground, kicked Mussolini's muscle-men out.

As soon as I got the letter with your question a very moving picture (that's a plug for my profession) popped into my head. I imagined an American soldier landing with our invasion forces and fighting his way into an Italian town. I imagined him in a tough spot and I imagined an underground villager helping him. But I couldn't imagine our doughboy saying, "Hey, Bud, wait a minute. Before I let you save my life—are you a republican, a Socialist, or a Communist?" No, I really couldn't. As a writer-director I honestly couldn't pass that scene. The doughboy just wouldn't ask that question.

Well, sir, here on the home front where the going is also kind of tough—*neither will I!*

Lewis Gannett

Critic

"Red-baiting" needs a little definition. Some people call any criticism of Communist personalities or policies "Red-baiting." I don't see why Communists should be immune from criticism. They've had more than their share of abuse from some quarters, but perhaps not enough from others. They are entitled to their opinions, and I will fight for their rights to them; but the rest of us are entitled to state our conviction that the herd-mindedness of Communist and near-Communist blocs has worked to corrupt the processes of democracy in the unions, and that the irresponsibility of the Party—both leaders and herd—in the period of the Russo-German pact menaced the world and properly left us dubious about Communist "cooperation."

I loathe the spiteful liberal-baiting of Roosevelt, Thurman Arnold, Eleanor Herrick, Jim Carey, Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky and others, which at one time or another has been a Communist policy, as loud-mouthed and unfair as the rantings of a Dies or a Pegler. I respect the sacrificial ardor with which Communists give themselves to the causes in which they believe, even when the cause includes support of Boss Hague of Jersey City; but I have come to fear that a condition of that ardor is abandonment of individual thinking. I could understand why Russia accepted the pact, as, for Russia, the best way out of a bad situation; but I could not understand a herd of Americans shouting in defense of it that Churchill's England and Hitler's Germany were equally bad, and I cannot comfortably cooperate with Americans who took that dangerously irresponsible course, even when they have swerved far from it. I don't trust leaders like Browder who were bell wethers in a policy that, to my mind, menaced the whole future of democracy.

I don't think the Communist Party is "an integral part of the nation's win-the-war forces"; it is a belated hitch-hiker. I'd let it ride, but not invite it to cooperate at the steering wheel.

Lyle Dowling

Executive assistant, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

YOUR questions, the Magil-Lerner correspondence, and the NEW MASSES editors' comments thereon may all be taken together, I think, as constituting an urgent problem that is now before both the Communists and the non-Communists.

Mr. Magil neglected to say exactly what it is he wants Mr. Lerner to do; and, not having been asked to do anything in the first place, Mr. Lerner explicitly refuses to do it. What is the point of discussing in 1943 "whether Communists and progressives cannot now work together" (Mr. Lerner's phrase) or whether it is "possible to collaborate with Communists" (Mr. Magil's phrase)? Communists and non-Communists are in fact working together on a scale very much greater than that of any previous year.

The NEW MASSES editors put the question more practically when they state that abstinence from Red-baiting is a first step, that "actively to combat Red-baiting" is a second step. Once these steps are taken, individually or collectively, full cooperation —including actual organizational forms of cooperation—becomes a practical possibility. Because a solution of the Red-baiting question comes first, I think it would be well if I omit comments on the very interesting questions of forms and possibilities of organizational cooperation, in order to say something about Red-baiting itself.

It is vital for everyone to understand that the act of disagreement with Communists or of disagreement with the policies of the Communist Party is *not* the same as Red-baiting. This is obvious—for it is quite common, these days, to find *agreement* with policy coupled to *baiting* of the originators or upholders of that same policy. This difference, between disagreement and baiting, has to be pressed, in my opinion, if we are to get any practical grasp of how to eliminate the evil of Red-baiting as such. For example, a very practical piece of advice to non-Communists which arises from this differentiation is: "When you are disagreeing with or even attacking a policy advocated by Communists, don't resort to Red-baiting to bolster your case." And, if such advice is necessary (and I do not have the impression that it is), to Communists: "Don't think that every time somebody disagrees with you, you are being Red-baited."

What is it, we may well ask, that all acts of Red-baiting have in common, setting them apart from simple disagreement as to position?

I will tell you: Red-baiting is the systematic use of the *lie*. Yes, that is what it really comes to: Red-baiting is telling lies about the Communists and about their Party.

Boiled down to its essence, the man who is disagreeing with the Communists but not Red-baiting says in effect: "You guys are dead wrong, your position is absolutely cockeyed, and here is why!" But the essence of the Red-baiting position is: "You guys are right [or wrong—it doesn't much matter], but you are dirty, thieving, Moscow-dominated, alien, religion-hating, power-greedy, plotting, libertinous conspirators, and for that reason we can have nothing to do with you." To be sure, such Red-baiting is susceptible to many variations—all the way from the "you dirty Red!" of the simple-minded Christian Fronter up to the elaborate fictions which the more sophisticated retail at what is, I take it, a substantial price per word.

Consequently, the fight against Red-baiting is best conducted exactly in the way that one fights against lies in general.

There are a great many of us, it must be noted, who have *already* stopped telling or believing lies about the Communists and their Party. This usually comes about (if my own experience is not too atypical) rather suddenly; on Tuesday one's mind is neatly stacked with all the usual junk about the Reds—then a number of things happen which, all at once, show not only that these "facts" are simply lies, but which also tip one off as to *why* the lies are told, and why they are believed. By the next Tuesday, one has not only ceased to believe the lies, but the whole structure of the Red-baiting technique seems so clear that one is astonished that everyone cannot see through it just as easily.

The practical advice to be gained from an appreciation that the *lie* is the core of the whole Red-baiting position is very simple: stop telling lies. The other bit of practical advice is: fight the lies with the facts. This is a long, but rewarding, process.

As things stand today, perhaps the most important single obstacle to the elimination of Red-baiting is the belief, and it is an erroneous belief, on the part of a number of people: there must be some way *both* to defeat fascism *and* to continue to bait the Reds, tooth and nail. This is the "eat your cake and have it, too" school of thought. These folk want to win the war, and they also want to lambaste the Reds; they have not yet perceived that one *must* choose—and that, historically, those who decide that Red-baiting is compatible with defeating fascism have always ended in disaster. Hitler, let us remember, destroys not only the Browders, but the Dubinskys, the James B. Careys, and the Max Lerners as well!

But I have a lot of confidence that, if this bitter lesson is not yet entirely grasped

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by all, it has been well grasped by a very great many people—many of them quite ordinary people who are not, in Mr. Magil's somewhat extravagant phrase, "molders of liberal thought in our country" like Mr. Lerner. What the warnings of history have not been able yet to accomplish, the events of the near future will, I imagine, succeed in doing.

Those of us who are still addicted to Red-baiting might well ask ourselves a very pertinent question: how does it come that President Roosevelt *does not Red-bait at all?* Is it not something worth noting, that the topmost leader of not only the liberal but all the win-the-war forces in the nation *abstains* from Red-baiting, whereas a lot of the small fry liberals feel free to go on, as before? Well, I'll tell you what the difference is: President Roosevelt's position of *leadership* requires that he abstain from Red-baiting, and, indeed, from attacking any group as such, except for the out-and-out pro-Axis groups.

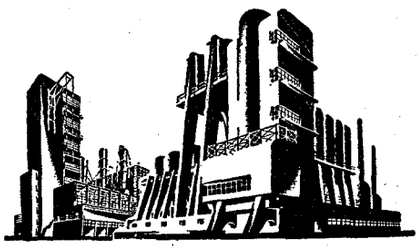
Finally, both Mr. Magil and Mr. Lerner should remember that the fate of this country is now primarily in the hands of its own people, and that very few (too few) of these people ever read NEW MASSES and that still fewer, I rather imagine, ever read PM. The writers and editors can play a part in the job that has to be done, or they can hang back from their responsibilities, or they can set themselves against the tide of history; but, by and large, we writers and editors must never forget that our debates and discussions are no longer as important as we like to think they are—and what a lucky thing that is!

A. D. Winspear

Director, Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago

You ask me to comment on the question of whether Communists and non-Communists can unite for a common purpose.

We in the Abraham Lincoln School feel that we are building an institution in which men of good will of various political faiths and tendencies can unite on a program of education for victory. Not only do I believe it possible, but I believe it must be done if America is to win a victory of unconditional surrender over fascism and if we are not to be diverted from this high purpose by unnecessary internal greed. I believe it is eminently important at the present time that Americans should learn to recognize who are their friends in the present struggle and who are their enemies.



READERS' FORUM

More Comments

TO NEW MASSES: I am a young man and really unable to qualify as a critic of the well informed and brilliant A. B. Magil and Max Lerner. However, I was moved by their discussion, since the subject is so vital, and personal, to me. So please excuse a little of the emotional tone that might pervade my letter.

On first reading I was strongly inclined to Mr. Lerner's viewpoint, but a rereading has left me disposed to regard his statement as admirable but not up to Mr. Magil's outlook. Incidentally, both men went too far: Lerner's demands were tantamount to asking the Communist Party to jump out of its skin; and Magil left too little room for the margin of human error.

Nevertheless, I cast my vote for Magil's presentation. The Communist Party, no matter where it was, would feel lost if it were to set up a national policy directly in opposition to the Soviet Union. To be a Communist means, among other things, to believe in the Soviets as a humanitarian culture, unerringly internationalistic, directly in accord with the traditions of the French and American Revolutions. Like Mr. Lerner, I felt uncomfortable when the Communist Party of the United States rushed into what seemed like a rapid reversal because of Soviet policy (although they couldn't help but do so, in the light of the Soviets' correctness). And I too wondered at the moral significance. But as every moralist knows, in every life (as in every movement) there can apparently be moral discrepancies while the character retains its essential integrity. The Communist Party might have stumbled but it is laughable to think that as a result it would evaporate. It can take it, and it has shown that by its open, objective invitation to unite in a time of national crisis. Here is where Mr. Lerner makes a bad error: he doesn't realize that each member of an organization can be as important as the organization itself; so it is with the national Communist parties and the Comintern.

Each national party is basically a robust movement; its health and indispensability are unquestionable. Witness the actions of the Communist parties in the blacked out countries, where they carry on between the very stones that crushed them into the underground. History can't leave behind a party that took the initiative in Russia, Mexico, China—yes, even in Germany and France. I don't think the party in this country will be an exception to the rule—it is able to learn from past mistakes and it does have an undeniable spirit to begin the fight anew.

I don't think the Communist Party has all the answers; one cannot like men and parties who think they have. Mr. Magil should have refrained from going into such an extensive historical analysis. Mr. Lerner seems to have a pretty long memory, himself. I think the time has come to be more direct and primitive. Let us show our hearts, our troubles and frailties; we've nothing to be ashamed of. Again, as in simpler days, if brothers have sinned against one another they don't lack courage to extend their hands and to do a little necessary forgetting.

Mr. Lerner is good at revealing the discordant conditions in our land. I've read his articles and books, but always feel a certain helplessness in them, due to the lack of a real program of action. Now what better symbol of courage and unity against the very conditions he exposes than to unite with the Communists? Communists are still regarded by many in the unfairest light possible; wouldn't the classical symbol of enlightenment be to unite with them on the basis of what they say and do? I trust Mr. Lerner will speak out for unity with less reservations in the future.

Bronx, N. Y. BERNARD SCHNEPS.

TO NEW MASSES: I want to protest at the publication of the letter of H.W.H. of Charleston, W. Va., in your current issue. This is presumably a letter on the Lerner-Magil discussion, but it is actually a personal attack on Lerner and an irrational denunciation of all liberals. I happen to agree with the position of Mr. Magil and NEW MASSES in this discussion, but I don't think anybody is going to be convinced by personal abuse and intemperate language. I was surprised to see that sort of letter in NEW MASSES. I think it lowers the whole level of what has been a most important discussion.

New York. F. E. L.

[NEW MASSES has received two other letters in a similar vein. It should be evident from the editorial statement we published in our July 13 issue in connection with the Lerner-Magil correspondence that H.W.H.'s approach to Max Lerner and to liberals as a whole is not that of NEW MASSES.—The Editors.]

TO NEW MASSES: Every now and then I pick up a copy of NEW MASSES either to amuse myself or to get a good "mad" on. I happened to read that issue in which Max Lerner and A. B. Magil exchanged billets doux. Let me congratulate you on at last acquiring an intelligent contributor. I refer to Lerner, of course. After wading through Magil's tedious discourse, I was left just about where I was, though a trifle the worse for wear. Lerner's reply was a masterful job that punctured all the pious platitudes and took the grease paint off Little Red Riding Hood, alias the Communist Party. Your editorial statement was, if anything, even feebler than Magil's stuff. I realize it must be embarrassing to have Lerner remind you about Communist behavior during the Nazi pact and "imperialist war" days, but what happened to all the stock answers you used to give? Thanks for the show just the same. It was almost worth fifteen cents.

Chicago. G. R.

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HEIL DOWLING!

[*Editor's Note: This column was in the printer's hands before the outbreak of disturbances in Harlem.*]

DID Prosecutor Dowling of Detroit wear the Grand Kleagle's robes the other day when he exploded with a bang heard in every one of the forty-eight states—and, tragically, by a billion colored men and women in Asia? Was the fiery cross burning when Mr. Dowling charged Negroes with responsibility for the Detroit insurrection? So colored mothers and fathers thought up the warfare that took the lives of twenty-eight of their sons in the thirty-six killed? Recall a man named Schickelgruber who said that a national minority in his land yearned for the screw and the rack? Is Mr. Dowling translating *Mein Kampf* for Detroit?

It seems to me every American worth his salt must talk up today. If Dowling gets away with it, we're in for another round of insurrections. R. J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers-CIO, knew what he was talking about when he said the prosecutor's statement was "the most serious incitation to race riots we have had since the riots themselves."

It is never time for hysteria, but sound the alarm, citizens. We have them on the run in Europe and on all the battlefronts of the world—except here on the home front. President Roosevelt warned neutrals against harboring the Nazi breed, but we invite them to live on Woodward Avenue.

THOUGH Americans were shocked, they weren't stunned: I was glad indeed to see the declaration by eight hundred Americans. Their letter to President Roosevelt was as clear as red, white, and blue. They described the Hitler pattern in the fighting and dying of Detroit, of Beaumont, of Chester, of the army camps and environs. They talked straight, gave blame—and praise—where due. President Roosevelt had won the "love and respect of the whole American people" for standing by the federal principle of non-discrimination in war-industry. Our Commander-in-Chief recognized, too, they pointed out, the exemplary valor of our black troops through the award of the Navy Cross and other honors.

Speak out to the people, the eight hundred urged; go on the radio, Mr. President, and tell America the words it wants to hear. And underscore those words with the vitally necessary directives to the various federal agencies under executive control. The eight hundred commended the Department of Justice for investigating all cases of lynching since the war, but they asked, and rightly, where are the convictions? Not one man has gone to jail for these atrocities. Not one. And what has happened to the indictments against pro-Nazi individuals in Detroit, over a year ago? Indictment without prosecution is a gun without a shell. Praise the Lord but pass the ammunition.

AMMUNITION is the people's collective, aggressive will: the foregathered group, the insistent resolution, the tireless delegation, the inter-racial council. Ammunition is the removal of those underlying evils that give the Axis and pro-Axis plotters their basis to maneuver. Ammunition is better housing for Negroes; ammunition is the unswerving application of Executive Order 9346. Equal treatment of our Negro brothers in uniform is worth arsenals of shells. These will provide our thirteen million Negroes with unerring arms; it will give them—and us, their allies, their fellow-Americans—the full heart that accomplishes miracles.

I look to the whites to take the initiative; I expect the clear-thinking unionist to slam the table and say "By God, we've had enough of this." I look to the Jews to step forward and say, "Your fate is mine. We stand together." It *has* happened; history is rich with examples. Read Councilman A. Clayton Powell's recent column in the *People's Voice*. He told of the three youthful Jewish immigrants who enlisted in John Brown's Abolitionist band back in 1855; and while Henry Ward Beecher was purchasing freedom for slaves from his pulpit in Brooklyn, "Morris Greenbaum bought fugitive slaves for freedom in Chicago." And Councilman Powell championed the unity of America's Jews and America's Negroes against the common menace. Think that over: five million Jews and thirteen million Negroes standing together constitute a mighty powerful slice of this country. Their unity would pull magnetically: other strata of the populace would be drawn energetically into the combination. This unity, of course, is not to short-circuit labor's central responsibility: it must be integrated with inter-racial activities of all groupings. But I can see the combination of Negro and Jew—both menaced most immediately by Kluxism—operating as a spark plug in the democratic mechanism.

I can see it and I have seen it. I saw Jew and Negro fighting Axis Kluxism in Spain; Dave Doran, Jew, and Oliver Law, Negro, were Americans who there struck the first blows in this world war for democracy. I saw it on a grand scale, history written in letters on the Pyrenees big enough for the world to see. I have seen it in humbler terms: in every day setting. One of my early recollections was a "race riot" in my home town of Chester, Pa., after World War 1. It was Detroit scaled smaller, but the same horrors were there. Kluxers up from the South to work in the shipyards inspired the outbreaks.

I SAW the blood-lust and the man-hunt. Any human in a black skin would do for torture. The cry "There's a n——" would mean an explosion of men and youths with revolvers, baseball bats, knives toward the lone Negro. I recall seeing a Negro youth flung to the ground, unconscious, then "revived" by a Kluxer who pressed a lit cigarette to the victim's eyelids. I saw that. And this, too. The crowd swirled past my home which was in a mixed Jewish and Negro community. It pursued a Negro youngster, about my age, a school-mate of mine. Next thing I remember a little Jewish woman out in the street, flinging herself against the leader of the gang, a lanky man holding a smoking revolver. She held him while the hunted youth darted down an alley and escaped. The Kluxer put the revolver to her head, "If you wasn't a God-damn woman," he snarled, "I'd blow your brains out." Afterward, I remember some frightened neighbors saying to the little Jewish woman, "How did you dare do it? What would happen to your children if he pulled the trigger?" She shrugged her shoulders characteristically: "My children, another woman's children, what difference does it make? He was a child, and they were chasing him like an animal. It was as though they wanted to murder my own Jacob." This was etched in my memory: the little woman happened to be my mother. How profoundly true, her instincts. And I honor her, thinking of these things today. We will not settle with the Kluxers and the Hitler-lovers here until all American mothers and fathers feel like that little Jewish immigrant: "My children, another woman's children, what difference does it make?" This she knew profoundly: A Negro mother's child today, her child tomorrow. She had good reason to know. Her father, a devout, humble little cobbler lost his life in a Black Hundred pogrom in the Ukraine the year before. She was ready to lose her life to keep it from happening here. That spirit, and that spirit alone, will win for us today.

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THE SOVIET WRITER

Alexei Tolstoy traces the growth of his country's literary stature since the Revolution. The meaning of "historically humane," rather than "psychologically humane" literature.

DOSTOEVSKY has said of Russian writers that "All of us have come from Gogol's *Shinel.*" But is that true? Along with the gallery of the "cast down and reviled," along with the sweet Russian do-nothing yearning, with the monsters of the city of Glupov, there appear the forms of simple, daring, honorable Russian patriots—the Grinevs, Tushins, Denisovs, the heroes of *Sevastopol Tales* and *War and Peace*. This line of Russian literature leads straight to Stalingrad, to those heroes of the Red Army at whom the world stands amazed.

Too much attention has been given in the history and teaching of literature to unneeded people, to Chekhovian people—so much attention that the Germans made broad use in their propaganda against us of this theme, trying to show the Russian man as an "unneeded man."

On the contrary, the truth is that the force of classical Russian literature of the nineteenth century consisted just in this: that, in delineating the "cast down and reviled," it inspired the reader with the necessity of the revolutionary way out. It said to him: "Man is made for happiness, as a bird for flight," and finally, "Man, That has a proud sound!"

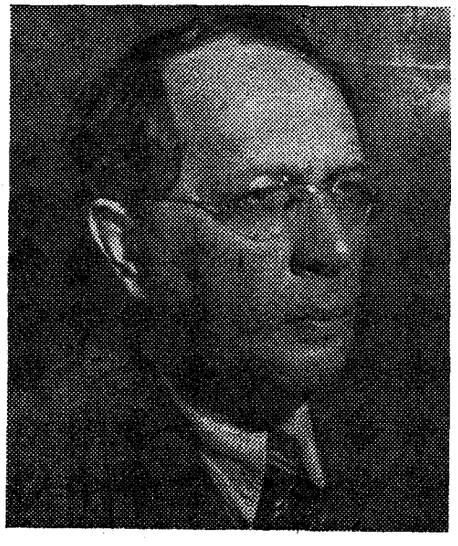
At the climax of classical literature stands the giant figure of Leo Tolstoy. He is all contradictions, for he in all the nakedness of conscience breathes the contradictions of his time. He is ready to devour himself. His power, like that of Antæus, is the earth, the people, the inextinguishable moral strength of the people. After Leo Tolstoy literature crosses the divide and is on the downward slope. Tolstoy writes to N. Strakhov: "After Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, one line of our literature has fallen altogether into decadence, and the other line has passed to the people, has gone under the ground and will emerge, God willing. . . . Happy is he who will take part in that emergence!"

Leo Tolstoy went under the ground leaving behind him the age of wrath. With an ironical sigh, Chekhov did the same. Alexander Blok pined, in a yearning of waiting for the great requital, to sing *The Scyths* and *The Twelve*, and to go before his time. Only the figure of Gorky was left, and he took a step into the future, to begin in his person a new period of Soviet literature.

Gorky is on the boundary of two epochs. He is a living bridge between us and our classical heritage. Gorky came into literature as a messenger of revolution, came in order "not to consent to the leaden abominations of life," but rather to conquer them. Basing himself on Marxism, on his conversations with Lenin, on his knowledge of the people's life, on his own experience, he founded a poetry of militant humanism. And that humanism became the banner of Soviet literature.

INTO the classic Russian realism Gorky introduced those new revolutionary-romantic elements which in Soviet literature have developed into the whole trend of socialist realism. At the Congress of Writers in 1934 Gorky said: "We face a catastrophe. Fascism is preparing a new worldwide war. . . ." And again, as if foreseeing our present: "We are entering upon an epoch full of the greatest tragedy, and we ought to prepare ourselves, learn to transform that tragedy into perfect forms, as the ancient tragedians succeeded in doing. . . . History has summoned us to a merciless struggle with the old world." And as if in answer to these words came the murder of Gorky, dictated by the fascists to their direct agents.

Gorky reared Soviet literature, and then led it into the path of the discovery of the meaning, for all humanity, of those profound social and economic processes which began in the former Russian empire.



Alexei Tolstoy

Just that: the moral and historic meaning for all humanity of all Soviet construction, the unique path for the development of society, was the innovation which Soviet literature brought to the treasure-house of the world's literature. That which Soviet people succeeded in winning and building, those human qualities which Soviet people exhibited while so doing, those ideas which inspired them to undertake tenaciously the construction of a new society—all this served Soviet writers as subject matter for their works.

Even if some of them were too schematic, if some of them were armed with the club instead of with the pen, if others do not stand up under the criticism of time, yet in all of them there beats the pulse of epochs not to be repeated: the civil war, the building of the Five-Year Plans, the struggle for a classless society; epochs which are instructive for all humanity.

Soviet literature does not merely pose the questions as to the fate and path of man: "What to do?" and "Who is to blame?" as classical literature did. It answers these questions, answers with the courage which it overheard in the din of the people's construction. It loves to show the moral transformation of man as he comes into contact with a society which is founded on justice.

The typical hero of Soviet literature is a man of ideas and actions, revealing himself through the historic deed of his people. The deed is so great that often the hero is lost in the contours of the construction, and the real hero turns out to be the factory, the city, the dam, and the mine. The hero of Soviet literature, unlike classical heroes, has little inner conflict or self-analysis. He is a pioneer in a new land, his sleeves are rolled up, he has a gruff voice, he is a man of few words, he knows where he has to go and what he has to do. His portrait is often painted superficially. Soviet literature has attained profound human portraits only in the days of this war, when writers were overwhelmed by the elevation of the moral spirit exemplified in the twenty-eighth guardsman, in the Komsomolka Zoe, and in tens, and hundreds of thousand of heroes like them, sons of the people.

Russian literature is humane like no other literature. But the humanism of

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classical Russian literature is on a different principle from the humanism of Soviet literature. In classical literature there is pity, sorrow for man, and a sharing of his suffering; in Soviet literature, a real actual struggle to build the condition of human happiness. In the former, there is psychological humaneness, in the latter, historical humaneness, defined by the very content of the people's ideals and strivings. Man in classical literature is an object of psychological vivisection; in Soviet literature, there is historical man.

It is no accident that in Soviet literature there has been such a wide development of the historical novel, which did not exist in classical literature. Then they spoke of the Messianism of the Russian people, and often harsh feudalism and reaction was disguised under these cloudy ideas. The Soviet writer saw in living actuality, the real character of the Russian people, historically conditioned, which in our days has flowered in unheard-of, selfless, creative movements, and in the bloody struggle against fascism. And for the first time, like the voice of the bell of the city of Kitezh, there has sounded in Soviet literature the words: sacred motherland.

All the experience of the literature of the previous century did not give us the artistic experience, the tradition, and the style to express an optimistic, life-asserting force—assertive of life and approaching life in order to transform it. Having no antecedent experience, Soviet literature is seeking a form and a style for a life-asserting realism. In it there is still much that is inept and unripe. Style and form develop most favorably in periods of lull, of certain stability. We have no lulls. Our twenty-five years have been an ardent movement forward; in bitter struggle, in perpetual overcoming. Hence the still immature hand of many of our writers, and their rectilinear quality, often attained at the expense of many-sidedness and richness.

The first basic achievement of our literature was the articulation of social ideas. The second achievement was that of belonging to the people. Soviet literature, as a whole, did not win all at once this greatest of all vistas open to the writer—to speak to the people and be understood by the people. In this respect, some phases of the history of literature of the last quarter of a century are instructive. Basically the development of literature went through two stages in the recent development of our country. The first stage was from the October Revolution to that year which Stalin named "the year of the great transition." The second was from the beginning of the thirties to the war for defense of the Motherland. In our day, a new stage of Soviet literature has begun.

From the October Revolution to the year of the great transition, the question had not yet been settled: "Who will beat whom?" Within society there went on the struggle of socialist and captialist elements, a war for the direction and for the content of the revolutionary process. All this found its expression in the ideas, themes, subjects and style of literature.

With the thirties the new classless society began to take form. The land was intensely building the Five-Year Plans. Literature endeavored to express these new social processes. The struggles of groups and directions which characterized the previous period came to an end, yielding to a new solidarity which sometimes took the undesirable character of a general leveling. The choice of themes, the manner of their elaboration, the relation to the object and to man—everything that we call style—was subordinated to the surge of construction going forward in the land. Literature was colored by the feeling of the time and strove for knowledge and expression of actuality. The sketch flourished, and often realism came dangerously close to naturalism.

WITHIN this first period several literary stages may be distinguished. These are, above all, the years of the civil war and then of the NEP.

The Revolution found Russian literature in a state of decadence and dissolution. With minor exceptions, it was far from the people and strange to them. The last strands were broken which connected it with the liberating traditions of the nineteenth century. The war of 1914 revealed this decline mercilessly when a certain esthete, the poet Igor Severianin, fired a phrase into the void: "And if in the evil hour secretly falls the last giant, then you the darling, you the only, I will lead you to Berlin." Newspapers and magazines were filled with the basest pot-boilers, as for example, "With cross on breast, with iron in the heart," of Muizhel and hundreds of other scribblers. In order to be understood by the people at war, the literature of the first world war descended from its tower, and hastily masquerading as a patriot, whined, fawned, and crawled in all the falsest tones. The people turned in disgust from this sort of antics.

Compare it with the literature of the second world war, of our day, when the whole endeavor of Soviet literature is to rise to the level of moral elevation and heroic action of the embattled Russian people. The literature of our day is genuinely of the people, a high humane art needed by all the people. It goes sternly upward. There are the verses of Tvardovsky, Simonov, Isakovsky, Selvinsky, Surkov, the last verses of Anna Akhmatova, the satires of Marshak, the Leningrad tales of Nikolai Tikhonov, the works of Ehrenburg and Korneichuk, the stories of Sobolev and Paustovsky, the sketches of Boris Gorbatov, the tales and sketches of Vasilii Grossman and of the late Polyakov, the war stories of non-professional writers, signed by majors or colonels, the *Raduga* of Wanda Wasilewska, and many others.

At the flaming spectacle of the October Revolution, important sections of the intelligentsia were at a loss. Unable to appreciate the new thing the working class was bringing into life, they retreated from the Revolution. But the cream of our intelligentsia, in literature in particular, went over to it. In January 1918 Alexander Blok said very well: "The artist's business, the artist's duty, is to see what is conceived, to hear the music given forth by the air which is moved by the wind."

But what was conceived was:

"To make all things over. To build in such fashion that everything shall be new, that our false, foul, mean, brutal life shall become just, pure, bright, and fair."

This temper of the all-cleansing revolutionary blizzard, sweeping over a false and sordid life, Blok put into his poem *The Twelve*. However, in it there is more poetic drive than historical understanding.

ALONG with the storm there swept into literature the concept of the people. It appeared like something solid, a massive whole, in which personalities are indistinguishable. Personality at that time seemed inseparable from bourgeois individualism, and was rejected along with it. Such is the mass-man of Mayakovsky's *One Hundred and Fifty Million*, of Malyshkin's tale *The Fall of Dair*, and in part of Serafimovich's *Iron Flood*.

The denial of all past literary heritage, of labeling it as aristocratic and bourgeois individualism and dangerous from a class point of view, took on menacing forms in those early years. There came to the literature of the October Revolution people from bourgeois milieus, and the emancipated intelligentsia; also the youth straight from the fields of the civil war, from factories and mills, village correspondents, village teachers, and others. There was also a significant group of people who combined journalistic revolutionary passion with attitudes hostile to the revolution.

This denial of our literary heritage appears most strongly in the Proletkult, and later in RAPP. A tendency appeared to oppose proletarian to all human culture. It was Chekhovism and Makhaevism and did considerable harm to our literature.

All the wisdom of the Proletkult and RAPP "theoreticians" did not extend beyond a sorting of literary works and of writers themselves into blacks and whites, into the bourgeois, who had to be done away with by any means, and proletarians, who had to be glorified. Much of this came from ignorance, from the old Russian Nihilism. But there was also the direct work of fascist agents who had crept into literature. They changed the pathos of the revolutionary remaking of the world into a shrill and menacing demagogy.

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But it was the strength of the literary movement of the Revolution that its heart beat as one with that of the masses of the people, and that in its basic outline it was directed by the Party and personally by Lenin and Stalin. Soviet literature in a quarter of a century passed from the mass-man to the individual man, representing the embattled people; from the pathos of cosmopolitanism, and sometimes of a pseudo-internationalism, to the motherland, as one of the dearest and most poetic of themes.

Maykovsky stands at the corner of the literary life of the twenties. He entered upon literature after 1912 at the turning point in the upsurge of the workers' movement in Russia, and in his creativeness expressed just that rise of the revolution. At first his revolutionary protest was confined within the bounds of the esthetic struggle of a clique of futurists. The October Revolution gave full scope to his creativeness. In the struggle for socialism he grew into a people's poet and tribune, for whom "the streets are our brushes, the squares our palettes." Mayakovsky said that which it was not given to Blok to say, though Blok threw himself into the revolution; he expressed the determination to put aside with mighty blows a false, deformed world and to rebuild it. No one expressed as did Mayakovsky the spirit of the Revolution.

Byron filled the beginning of the nineteenth century with forms of stormy protest; the theomachist, the lonely overthrower of the evil demons of the world. In the beginning of the twentieth century, with no less force, there sounded the voice of this poet of the proletarian revolution. "Let our common monument be the socialism built up in struggle." Mayakovsky created a new, magnificent style of revolutionary poetry, using huge canvases painted with a bold and angry brush. Here was the poetry of uprising, where there sounded the step of the advancing proletariat: "Left, left, left . . ." Here was the poetry of the hand stretched out like an answer to the question: What should a man do today, now, immediately, if he is with the proletarian revolution? This is the source of the tremendous impression which he produced on revolutionary and advanced poetry all over the world, and his profound influence on the poets of all literatures in the Soviet Union. That is why Stalin called Maykovsky "the best, most talented poet of the Soviet epoch."

The same can be said of Maykovsky that Hertzen said of Belinsky: "This was a man of extremes." Soviet culture is built on a certain balance between the new and the traditional, on a critical survey of history along with all the new that rises from sound deep roots. In Maykovsky's maximalism there blares with a fanfare the purely Russian theme of setting, above all else, the surge of all the people toward the future, without regrets for the past: "I shall glorify the motherland that is, and thrice that which shall be."

Maykovsky inevitably fulfills our imagination when he strives in creative rush to "sweep aside all"; and he says less to our wounded heart, when it grieves in days of war, grieves over Russia and finds in that sorrow both rage and determination, and also giant strength.

Soviet artistic prose and, in significant measure, Soviet drama both came from the theme of the civil war. The first generation of Soviet writers, for instance the "Serapionov brothers," came to literature, to the immediate school of Maxim Gorky, straight from the front. They brought with them, like the uniforms thrown over their shoulders, the romanticism of the civil war, the heroism of the people which in desperate fight drove out the White armies.

The best works of this first stage of Soviet literature are sung in the heroic poetry of the proletarian war: Furmanov's *Chapaev*, Serafimovich's *Iron Flood*, Seifullina's *Virineia*, Bagritsky's fascinating poem *Ballad of Opanas*, Vsevolod Ivanov's *Partisan Tales* and *Armored Train*, Fedin's *Cities and Years*, Trenev's *Liubov' Iarovaya*, Fadeev's *Rout*, Vishnevsky's *First Cavalry Army*, Selvinsky's *The Story of Ulalaev*, and many *others*. Makarenko's *Pedagogical Poem*, a poem of the heroic rebuilding of man, may also be related to the romanticism of these years.

It is essential to note that later, in the thirties, the heroic theme of the civil war helped many Soviet writers to express, but with a new turn of ideas, the patriotic upsurge in our land in connection with the building of defense, in the anticipation of the second world war. Such, for example, is Perventsev's novel *On the Kuban*, Ivanov's *Parkhomenko*, Virta's *Solitude*, Kataev's *I Am a Son of the Working People*, Pogodin's plays *Man with a Rifle* and *Kremlin Chimes*.

A second significant phenomenon of our literature is Mikhail Sholokhov. He belongs altogether to the October Revolution and was formed in the Soviet epoch. He came to literature with the theme of the birth of the new society in the sufferings and tragedies of the social struggle. In *And Quiet Flows the Don* he unfolds an epic, picturesque canvas saturated with the odors of the soil, from the life of the Don Cossacks. But this does not limit the great theme of the novel. *And Quiet Flows the Don* is an all-Russian, national, people's work in its language, its warmth, its humanity, its vividness. In our days, when the Russian people are waging a titanic struggle, and when the center of our attention is not taken by the victim of historic process such as is the hero of *The Quiet Don*, Melekhov, but by the people's hero —the Russian paladin (*bogatyr*)—we see the defects of this novel: from Melekhov to the warrior of the Red Army throwing himself with a load of hand grenades un-

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der the enemy tank to blow it up with his body, there is no line of descent. Melekhov is merely a victim, lost in the contradictions of a historic process. But the Don Cossacks have passed through those contradictions, and their flaming love for the Soviet motherland, their ancient daring, and their sharp blades are now felt by Hitler's soldiers. There have been many literary quarrels as to whether the Cossack Melekhov takes a right or wrong path in the pages of Sholokhov's magnificent novel: life itself has resolved these disputes.

ALONG with NEP many contradictory factors in the twenties influenced our literature. To a certain degree, it is possible to speak of a NEP literary stage. In the main, this relates to the satirical vein in fiction and drama. In the atmosphere of contradictions there was born the sly, clever, charming prose of Zoshchenko, with its ironically humble hero-man in the street, whom he mocks and pities. The NEP-bred merchant is a comic and wretched caricature of the European bourgeois, a rougish, shifty trickster, a trader setting up his wretched tent in the camp of stern soldiers resting between two wars.

Even yesterday we saw Zoshchenko's hero in the kitchen, in the tramway. Today he is no more. History goes with urgent steps, and now the sting of satire has to be directed against other phenomena of our lives. We are waiting for a new satire, we need it for our constructive work; that is shown by the wholesome effect of Korneichuk's *Front*, even though it has merely elements of satire.

The power of the weapon of satire is clearly illustrated in the contemporary newspaper articles of Ilya Ehrenburg. In the twenties he wrote satirical novels (the best of them *Julio Jurenito*) directed against the "fat boys" with their baseness and filth. These novels were a good school for him. Now his bitter satires boiling with hatred against the Fritzes are no aspen reed, but a machine-gun volley. His little articles cut from the newspaper can be seen stuck up with matches in foxholes at the front.

The unreal lightness of NEP showed in the very character of the satire of that time. Thus, in the novels of Ilf and Petrov, *Twelve Chairs* and *Golden Calf*, the people and facts exposed to ridicule are taken to a lower plane, the plane of irony. They are not scourged in wrath. Ostap Bender does not call bile forth in the reader. The reader only smiles. Such an enemy could be wiped out with a flick of a finger. The stupid yeast of life, to use the expression of Saltykov, was transformed under the NEP conditions into a mere scum of dirt, and called forth rather ironical contempt than just wrath.

There was much in the literature of the twenties that it had to pass through, as through a disease, and various writers did not adjust their ideas to the needs of the *period of the great transition*. There was factionalism, blindness to ideas, inability, and sometimes an arrogant unwillingness to see and express the historically conditioned reality. There was formalism, a sterile and therefore harmful play of thematic and verbal ornament, which was substituted for the essence in ideas of literature, and for its deep and always difficult creative processes. There were irrelevant anecdotes and thematic tricks. There was manifested a cavalier relation to the Revolution in revivals of the picture of the traditional "little brothers." There was the intelligentsia's whining, the inflation of the wrongs of the "little man," chased by the October Revolution like Eugenii by the Brass Horseman. All of this remained within the walls of the cliques and the editorial boards. The cold fire of these pyrotechnics glittered or smoked without the presence of the broad public. The printings of books were limited to five or ten thousand copies. Within ten years the printing of a book like *And Quiet Flows the Don* totalled 2,500,000 copies.

At the beginning of the thirties, under the influence of the decisive victories of socialism, a profound change of ideas took place within the ranks of the writing intellectuals. Literature drew closer to the basic, vitally necessary aims and objectives of the party and the Soviet power. This rapprochement found its expression in the well-known decree of the Central Committee of April 23, 1932, on the liquidation of the RAPP and the reorganization of literary organizations.

The literature of the second period is characterized above all by the unity of its conceptual trends. And this was a step on the path to a people's literature. In these years a many-millioned reader rose up to face the writer, namely the builder-people, set in motion in the cultural revolution. All this taken together gave new character to our literary life and deepened our awareness of the responsibility of literature to the people.

This growing contact between literature and the reader is generalized by the deepening of the economic, political, and cultural bonds of the Russian people with the brother peoples of the Soviet Union. The process of fusing literature with the reader is activated by the people's work in the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plans. Day and night in all the land, through the teeth of steam-shovels' crunch, and by means of the pneumatic hammers' stutter, the walls of cities and factories arose. In the village plans are made for transition from the individual strips to the massive areas of a collective economy.

All this invited and called forth a literature which eagerly served as the artistic chronicler of the economic transformation or, in the words of Hertzen, which

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"follows in the traces of the great army of the movement of history."

Thus there arise industrial and *kolkhoz* novels, tales, and plays, about socialist construction and its people. Among the multitude of works of these years many are notably significant in that they introduce into literature materials never before treated. Such for instance are Gladkov's novel *Cement*, Ehrenburg's *Second Day*, Leonov's *Hundred*, Kataev's *Time, Forward*, Ilin's *The Great Conveyor*, Sholokhov's *Virgin Soil*, Panferov's *Rails*, Shaginian's *Central Hydrostation*, Tvardovsky's notable poem, *Muravia Land*, Krymov's *Tanker "Derbent,"* and many another. At the same time a new generation of writers established itself in literature—such men as Sobolev, Korneichuk, Pavlenko, Simonov, and others.

From the romantic approach of the recent past, literature went over to historic concreteness. A new literary hero appeared: no longer the mass-man, nor the abstract romantic personage of the civil war, but the man of today. He is the builder, but he is still rather generalized than typical; he is depicted by external signs rather than by internal characterization; he is still the representative of his occupation rather than a living personality; he has a dangerous tendency to flash across the pages of a story, also a tendency to appear as a mere product of conditions; as the "leather jacket" or rubber stamp.

The last years before the war were notable for the literary war for the elimination of characters depicted as mere products of conditions. Literature was fighting for the reestablishment of the ties which lead from the contemporary man to the historical past; in the first stage these threads were broken and for a time were purposely broken, as for instance by the activity of the RAPP.

In the search for its great historical inheritance, literature has been turning to the historical novel, which has taken the lead over other genres.

THE humanism of Soviet society is shown in the care for children on the part of the whole people. Since it began in the twenties, Soviet children's literature has won worldwide recognition. The books of Chukovsky, Marshak, Ilin, Mikhailkov, Boris Zhitkov, Barto, and other poets and prose writers have been translated into English, Spanish, Polish, Bulgarian, Japanese, and other languages, as well as into the languages of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The war has opened a new stage, a new period. It might have been thought that the thunder of war would drown out the voice of the poet, would coarsen and simplify literature, confine it to the narrow limits of the trench. But the embattled people, finding in itself ever greater moral strength for the bloody and merciless war, where there is only victory or death, ever more firmly demands a superior literature. And Soviet literature in time of war has become really a people's art, the voice of the heroic spirit of the people.

Such are the three steps which Soviet literature has climbed. A regularity may be observed in its development: the task of the writer, the forward motion of literature was derived always from the new content of social life. Often the content outstripped the form. And often the reader's sympathy with the content, and his imagination, supplemented what was indicated by dotted lines in the book, or given only schematically; that which the writer had not enough force and experience to express.

Works can be named which were very popular with readers and loved by them, as for example, Ostrovsky's *They Poured the Steel*, which from the artistic point of view and with respect to the expressiveness of language, cannot fully satisfy the growing esthetic demands of our contemporary reader.

We are not gourmands or esthetes. But, in setting the general aims of our literature, in stressing above all living veracity, political relevance (timeliness), mastery of form, picturesqueness, composition, richness, and crispness of language, we must continually relate form with content. We demand of literature the same bold daring which our people manifests; we demand miracles of art, since our people in the view of the whole world are accomplishing a miracle in the war for the motherland.

THE third cornerstone of our literature, laid by the October Revolution, is the multi-national character of the Soviet literature movement. The history of the world's literature has never known such concord of a many-voiced and mutually fructifying literary chorus, as in the Soviet Union. Taras Shevchenko says with proud irony in his poem *Caucasus*, that in czarist Russia all the nation from "the Moldavian to the Finn, in all tongues, all [were] silent." The forcible Russification carried out by the Russian empire is all too well known; the suppression of czarist censorship of the national development of the peoples, as if it was possible to make them forget their native tongue, their historic past, to suppress in them the sacred urge toward freedom. But for the October Revolution with its straightforward and honest Stalinist national policy, Russia without doubt would have shared the fate of every patchwork government. Thus fell forever the Holy Roman empire, thus ineluctably will fall the Third Reich which fascism has hurriedly sewed together, with bloody threads, out of the governments of Europe.

It would be unfair to assert that the Russian intelligentsia participated in the

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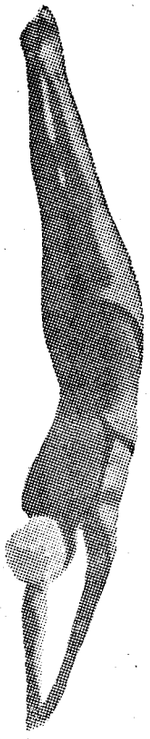

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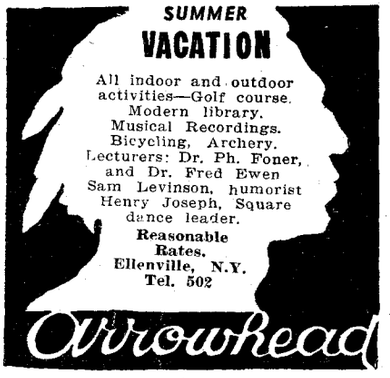
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stupid and short-sighted process of czarist Russification. The advanced Russian intelligentsia always maintained a different viewpoint, the one which was realized by the October Revolution. Russian literature had a progressive influence on the formation of social self-consciousness among the national intelligentsia of the peoples of czarist Russia. If we turn to the biographies of the most prominent national leaders of the middle and end of the last century, it is obvious that they got their leading ideas, knowledge of life and history from our classic literature, in Pushkin, Turgenev, Belinsky, Chernishevsky, Dobroliubov, Hertzen, Leo Tolstoy, Shchedrin, Ostrovsky, Gorky.

Advanced Russian literature never knew a condescending attitude toward the peoples inhabiting Russia. It never had a colonial attitude or colonial themes, so characteristic of the literature of some other European peoples. The flowering of the Stalinist friendship of peoples in Soviet literature did not grow out of sterile soil. That friendship came out of roots in the past, in the progressive mission of Russian literature, in the progressive role of the Russian people and its culture.

WHERE the map of the Russian empire had blank spaces of silence and illiteracy, the map of the USSR blooms and flourishes with national literatures. The October Revolution and the Stalinist national policy called all to cultural life, even the "little known and unknown peoples" seemingly forgotten by history. Stalin says in his book *Marxism and the National-Colonial Question* that it is the nature of the revolution not to diminish but to increase the number of languages, and therefore of literatures. Over the period of a quarter of a century, dozens of peoples of the Soviet Union have for the first time in their history established their written language. On the eve of the war in defense of the motherland, we printed books in ninety languages, some of which were previously all but unknown: Saam, Mansii, Abazin, Vep, and others.

Naturally, not every people and tribe has always succeeded in founding its own fine literature. Soviet literature is not only many-nationed and many-languaged, but many-staged—all stages, or degrees of development, coexist in it, from the naive song of the Ashug, or the first rhythmic effort in the language which has just received its written form, to the stories, novels, poems, and dramas which are translated into all languages of the world. It may be estimated that we have, besides the Russian, thirty-five or thirty-six literatures already formed, and if we add to this the literatures of the Baltic peoples, the number totals forty in all.

Two factors must be distinguished in the development of our national literatures. First, the rebirth and extraordinary blossoming of oral folk creativeness; and, secondly, as remarked above, the development of new forms, hitherto little or not at all known to them—the novel, short story, drama, film scenario. In the developmen of these forms the Russian language has played an enormous role, since it was the second native tongue for the literary intelligentsia of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

OF ENORMOUS significance for the development of national literatures was the establishment in them of the primacy of national culture, the popularizations of editions in the national languages, and in translations into the Russian of classics and epics—such as *The Nizams, The Weaver's Beam, The Knight in the Tiger's Skin, David Sasunsky, Jangar,* and *Manas.* The novel, the short story, the drama, and film scenarios developed in the national cultures along with the growth and deepening of culture, not only as new methods, along with poetry, of artistic perception and expression of reality, but also as a re-survey, from new revolutionary positions, of their history.

The English critic, Ralph Fox, who died in Spain, says in his book *The Novel and the People* that many English and French writers turn from the path of humanism, depart from the great traditions of the West. This is because fascism, before hurling itself on Europe with tanks and bombers, brought it into a state of moral paralysis by the work of the fifth columns. And behold, we have the novel *Journey to the End of Night,* which should rather be called, *The Journey of France to the End of Night, from Robespierre to Laval.*

The path of Soviet literature in contrast is humanism. "Proletarian in its content, national in its form, such is the art for all mankind toward which socialism moves," said Stalin. The classless society, which we are building, is the necessary precondition for the triumph of humanism. Man is the goal of all our efforts. Fascism is the downfall of man. The armies of Hitler are the armies of corpses storming living humanity. Red shields have barred their way with that great moral force which cannot be overcome.

Nine hundred Soviet writers, playwrights, poets, essayists, journalists, are in the front ranks of the army, among the embattled Soviet people. Along with the immediate tasks of the struggle, they are going through that stern school of artistic experience which, because it possesses the three basic qualities of our literature, socialist content, folk quality and multi-nationality, guarantees its world future.

ALEXEI TOLSTOY.

Mr. Tolstoy's article was reprinted from the summer issue of the quarterly "Science & Society."

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Civil War History

CONFEDERATE MISSISSIPPI, *by John K. Bettersworth, Louisiana State University Press. $3.*

THIS work belongs in the school of realistic, awakening historiography. Because the sleep was long and the dream pleasant, the awakening is painful and the reality is disturbing; but they are there, and acknowledged, even if with some hesitancy and misgiving.

The author's use of extensive source material has produced a volume which demonstrates that the Mississippi of 1860 was a tyrannical oligarchy, and that secession was a reactionary *coup d'etat* engineered by that oligarchy for its own preservation and enrichment. It is demonstrated that the representatives of the ruling class of this state recognized from the beginning that the character of their counter-revolution was unpopular with even the white population. It was because of this that the Secession Convention refused to put the question of withdrawal from the nation before a vote of the already restricted electorate. As even the Natchez *Courier* of February 1861 put it: "We live under an oligarchy that has not yet dared to trust the people with a say as to its consent."

And it was because of this that the same Secession Convention reconvened itself in March 1861, considered the Confederate Constitution, adopted it, and refused to submit that action to the vote of the electorate. The Lexington, Miss., *Advertiser* sarcastically editorialized: "A great government can be dissevered, national conventions can be held, Presidents elected, a Southern Congress established, and a mighty government put in permanent working order, fully *by the people,* simply through a little 'jumped up' election for delegates, clothed with limited powers, to a State Convention!" Eventually the illegitimate offspring of corrupted parents was distracted, plagued, and ultimately destroyed by its intended victims, the common people, Negro and white.

Bettersworth chronicles the non-slaveholding whites' opposition to the Confederacy. He devotes a chapter to the activities of these people in counties where disaffection was particularly rife, which were "deluged with deserters [who] enjoyed the patronage of the people." And he names twenty-three such counties, a full forty percent of the entire state. Here are resurrected the names and Chapayev-like deeds of such people's leaders as Newt Knight of Jones County and Ben Hawkins of Smith County who successfully led their fellow-farmers against "the hated Confederate cavalry."

The author's contribution concerning the Negro people is less complete, but does have value. He mentions several rebellions and plots, hints at the existence of belligerent groups of outlying fugitive slaves, and notes that a very considerable percentage of the slaves had succeeded in fleeing by the end of 1862; and he comments that "preventive measures [aimed at the slave] were hardly successful." Yet, as though amazed at the conclusion his data thrust upon him, he tempers their force by citing "uncertainties" in the picture of the Negro's activities, and finally attempts to withdraw his interpretation of his own material by quoting the musings of Thomas Dabney, about Negro "docility," muttered twenty years after the Civil War. He shunts aside evidence and even "uncertainties" and asserts "the slaves were . . . far more docile in wartime than might have been expected." But this conclusion, contradicting his own evidence and the additional material he might have found had he used the work of Wish and Eaton, and my own, has little value except to show the author's conditioning—a conditioning which leads him to couple automatically the words "Negro" and "docility," very much as a Pegler couples "unions" and "graft."

But the positive contributions of this volume are great. It constitutes another series of nails in the coffin of the moonlight and magnolia fantasia, and together with Shugg's excellent work on *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (which, incidentally, is not mentioned by Bettersworth) gives one hope that, at long last, a people's history of the South during the Civil War may yet be written.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Brief Review

AN OUTLINE STUDY OF THE SOVIET UNION TODAY, *by the staff of the American Russian Institute. $1. Published by the Institute, 56 West 45th Street.*

A VAST amount of knowledge is required to answer accurately the hundreds of questions being asked by the American people, now tremendously aware of the necessity of understanding not just some aspects of Russian life but the whole content of the new Soviet society. This syllabus and bibliography is an invaluable help. "Syllabus and bibliography" may not sound very appealing, but this outline is fascinating reading. It sets out to supply a whole view of Soviet life and contains a comprehensive reference series of amplifying material detailed for each topic.

The book is admirably planned for use in forums, discussion groups, and classes. Long sections might actually be used as lectures just as they stand. Each section concludes with suggested questions for discussion, which are not always especially imaginative. But even such a weakness may be an advantage—since this is a draft edition and readers are invited to talk back by sending in their criticisms and suggestions.

There is no other such comprehensive material in a small space. The concluding bibliography, classified by topics and annoted, is masterly.

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FILMS

"Black Sea Fighters"

"BLACK SEA FIGHTERS" is the documentary record of the "non-existent" Russian Navy so often "destroyed in a sea of printer's ink." This is the story of how the "big land" (Moscow) delivered the goods to the beseiged city of Sevastopol via the Black Sea. This is the reason for 350,000 dead Nazis. This is the camera's record of the last days of Sevastopol.

Soviet cameramen have filmed an actual reconnaissance raid. Submarine commandos are shown donning their waterproof suits, their helmets, and goggles. They enter the torpedo tubes and are shot to the surface. Quickly they swim to the shore, scout for a few minutes, then give the all-clear for the invasion boats and fleet to approach. The commandos plant the dynamite and destroy the enemy communications. They are joined by other forces brought by the speedy PT boats (first developed in the waters of the Black Sea). The Soviet forces move further inland. They engage in hand-to-hand bayonet encounters with the Hitlerite hordes. With hand grenades, artillery, trench mortars, and a supporting barrage from the fleet anchored off shore, they destroy the supply dumps and the enemy batteries. Their mission accomplished, they retire to the boats.

There is a grim, quiet efficiency and dispatch in this camera record—quiet that precedes the storm of each battle, each bayonet charge, each bursting of a hand grenade. The "naval infantry," PT boats, submarines, and destroyers are described in the calm, unexcited voice of Frederic March, in an excellent running commentary by Clifford Odets.

The two camera crews which made the picture have filmed great scenes of individual heroism. A seaman runs out with a burning shell that hit the ship. He throws it overboard, but in doing so, his clothes catch fire. Quickly two of his comrades roll him on the deck and extinguish the flames. A ship is hit and water is flooding the hold. The repair crew seal the compartment to prevent their own escape, don diving equipment and coolly proceed to repair the damage under water.

According to the books it couldn't be done. Fifteen Nazi divisions, 3,500 bombs per day attacked the Crimean seaport. It was said that no human being could hold out very long against such punishment. But the "Black Death," as the Russian marines are called by the Nazis, together with the land forces of the Red Army, held them back for 250 days and destroyed nine of every ten swastika-covered planes sent against them. These amazing Russians put grenades under their belts and hurled themselves into the paths of the oncoming fascist tanks. The film shows the armored train built by the civilians, which advanced constantly to the attack. The city which had cradled the ancesters of the *Potemkin* fighters couldn't hold out forever, but the glory that is Stalingrad's is in a large measure due to the determination, the collective heroism that belongs to the seafarers of Sevastopol.

JAMES KNIGHT.

"Victory Through Airpower"

"VICTORY Through Airpower," (Seversky-Disney) is deliberately concocted bad medicine. The Hearst-Scripps-Howard-McCormick-Patterson league does not blow its top just like that—the boys know a good thing when it comes along. And from their point of view this is *mighty* good—an answer to a defeatist's prayer, done up in "glorious" Technicolor, super sound effects, and the latest noiseless recording. And its message is *so* simple: "Let's scrap our present war production. No more tanks, no more guns, no more ammunition, no more battleships, aircraft carriers. Let's call off all present and future military campaigns. Instead, concentrate our entire national energy on manufacturing super-planes, preferably of Seversky-Disney design, and then you'll see what you'll see."

For the purposes of this review, we will attempt to be charitable with Mr. Seversky. Try to dissociate him from the pro-Axis press in this country. Try to overlook his connection with the Isaac Don Levines, and with Eugene Lyons, who had a hand in authoring *Victory Through Airpower*. Let us assume that Seversky is a true patriot who is under the impression that he is making a genuine contribution toward winning the war. Then the question arises, "How come, Mr. Seversky? What goes?" Mr. Seversky seems to feel that Hitler and the Axis are invincible. He's learned nothing, or prefers to learn nothing, from the failure of blitz warfare, nothing from Stalingrad, nothing from Tunis or Sicily. The possibilities of successful coalition warfare don't exist for him. Proceeding from his ignorance, willful or otherwise, his position is very logical. If it's impossible to defeat the Axis with any and all *existing* weapons and strategies, then we'll have to get along with the *non-existent*. Which is a trick in any man's league.

According to the trade papers Mr. Seversky is soon to make a jaunt down Brazil way, not neglecting, of course, to take a

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print of the Disney film along with him. And naturally, Brazil will undoubtedly be but the first of his stops. Purpose being to sell the Seversky plane of the future. When bigger and better planes will be made it is to be hoped that they will be Seversky planes. Now, there is nothing wrong about combining a little bit of business with patriotism. We only make this point because it is particularly germane to a consideration of the film itself. For if there was ever a pure salesmanship film this is it. The mark of the high-pressure advertising concern is all over its face. Once the cute Disney ingenuities are over (these are confined to the beginning of the film and are genuinely entertaining), *Victory Through Airpower* is straight plugging of the Seversky trademark. Seversky fondling beautiful globes, Seversky's czarist medals, Seversky's trophies, Seversky's complexion, his eyebrows, his everything.

For the launching of this film at a swank dinner and showing at the Waldorf-Astoria Mr. Seversky's business associates went into the sock to the tune of some $10,000. So what? Mighty cheap when you consider the potential returns.

There is one other angle of *Victory Through Airpower* that merits a word of consideration. The film very innocently calls for an independent air force and points out how successfully this has worked in England. But this is only the jumping off point for one of Mr. Seversky's fancies. From there he makes the modest suggestion that America ought feel no compunctions about entrusting in toto its destiny to the aeronauts of the future. He doesn't come right out and say state power but it would be nice if we got the idea. And who, in terms of the film at least, is the master aeronaut of them all? Who, Mr. Seversky?

To sum up; if you are interested in paying your fifty-five cents at the box-office for ten minutes of clever Disney work, followed by one hour of pessimism over the possibilities of defeating the Axis with present techniques and coalition strategy, intertwined with a tasteless exhibition of salesmanship and egotistical back-slapping, *Victory Through Airpower* is your dish. If not, stay away, stay away.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

Joy Davidman, NM's movie reviewer, has been ill but is expected to resume her column soon.

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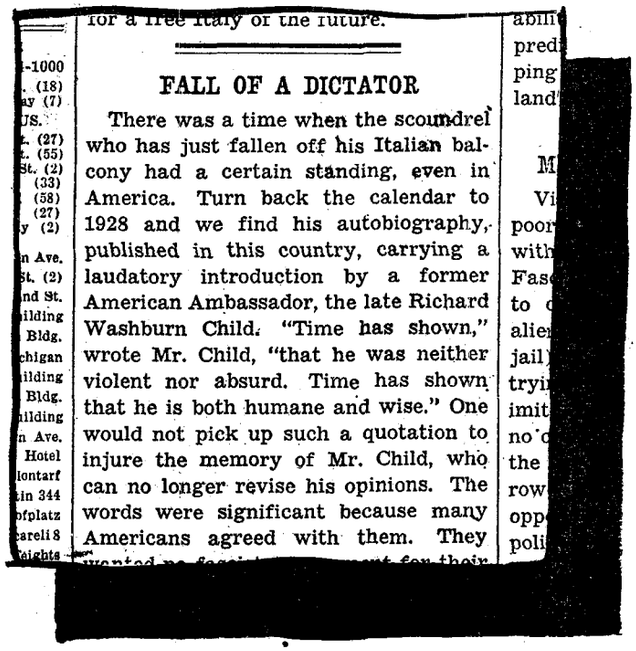

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FALL OF A DICTATOR

There was a time when the scoundrel who has just fallen off his Italian balcony had a certain standing, even in America. Turn back the calendar to 1928 and we find his autobiography, published in this country, carrying a laudatory introduction by a former American Ambassador, the late Richard Washburn Child. "Time has shown," wrote Mr. Child, "that he was neither violent nor absurd. Time has shown that he is both humane and wise." One would not pick up such a quotation to injure the memory of Mr. Child, who can no longer revise his opinions. The words were significant because many Americans agreed with them. They

New York Times, July 27, 1943

Unlike others, New Masses knew Benito and fascism for what they were—and exposed them to all who would listen. Here is the chronology.

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1922 — Late that year Mussolini took power.

January 1923. New Masses' predecessor, The Liberator, printed an article by G. Cannata titled "Fascismo," which said in part:

"The fascisti . . . have killed men, women, and children; they have outraged, raped, sacked, burned, plundered, and tortured their victims. With a superior military equipment, they have been able to attack the workers always in superior numbers. . . .

February 1928 (when Mr. Childs' laudatory biography was being published, as the above clipping indicates), New Masses featured another article titled "Fascismo," in the form of a letter from Mrs. Ameda Pilati of Florence, Italy. That article, which attracted a great deal of attention, revealed the bloody story of fascism itself through Mrs. Pilati's passionate account of her husband's murder at the hands of Mussolini's men.

September 1931. Michael Gold's "Open Letter to Ezra Pound" was published in these pages, polemically indicting the "poet" who has just been indicted by our government for his services to Italian fascism. The open letter to Pound concluded with a phrase that became famous: "Always ready, but hoping to see you in hell first."

May 1934. In that month, during NM's first year as a weekly magazine, we printed a magnificent expose by Ilya Ehrenburg, titled "Culture and Fascism."

Of course that list includes only the highlights: for twenty-one years, our attack on fascism has been constant — through editorials, articles, cartoons, and poems. You not only keep abreast — you keep 'way ahead — when you read New Masses regularly. And you can do that best by subscribing. (See coupon on page 30.)

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